OCT 17 1947

OCT. 20, 1947

# New Republic

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# HOW TO BRING PRICES DOWN

## AN 8-PAGE NEW REPUBLIC REPORT

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3. Is Price Control the Answer?

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# The Comintern's Challenge to Liberals

ON a late September day somewhere in Poland, war was declared on the democratic leaders of Western Europe.

Meeting in secret, officials of the Communist parties of nine European countries issued a manifesto no less notable for its repeated attacks on the Marshall Plan than for the violent litany of abuse it reserved for the beleaguered leaders of the free governments of Western Europe. The Manifesto revealed clearly that Moscow sees the Marshall Plan as its most formidable opponent.'

Russian expansion, temporarily halted by the Anglo-American short-range policy of containment, will be carried on with a new strategy. In its bold plan to cast Western Europe in a mould of monolithic "new democracies" along police-state lines, Moscow will rely on the Communist parties of Europe. They can jump borders, ignore spheres of influence and defy any policy of containment.

But there are effective forces in Western Europe which the Communist parties cannot ignore or defy—the democratic socialists led by Blum, Attlee, Saragat and the others with whom American liberals are most closely identified.

WE believe the Marshall Plan is the key to the fate of Europe. If the high hope of the Plan is to be fulfilled—

- American liberals must help to overcome indifference, blindness and obstruction in this country.
- Europe's democratic leaders must overcome Communist harassment and boldly carry out the program of reconstruction blue-printed at Paris.

ADA has vigorously condemned the voices of those "confusionists" in Congress and elsewhere who have proposed that aid under the Marshall Plan be withheld or drastically limited unless democratic Europe foregoes all forms of socialization. This is the perilous formula of America's new isolationists which would deny to Western Europe, as surely as the Communists would, their free choice of economic and social institutions.

Whatever the other imperfections of U. S. foreign policy, these proposals have thus far been steadfastly rejected by Secretary Marshall and responsible spokesmen for the administration.

• • •

AS the new Communist manifesto was prepared for publication, the national board of Progressive Citizens of America met at Philadelphia. From that City came a somewhat less historic proclamation. It condemned the Marshall Plan as a "pressure" on Western Europe to force economic conformity to "the rigid illiberal backward-looking pattern acceptable to the Wall Street bankers and monopolists who increasingly dictate United States' policy."

ADA is not surprised that the Progressive Citizens of America, by an accident of timing, have enunciated a free translation of the new Communist edict.

This divergence between ADA and PCA on the Marshall Plan should serve to clarify a difference which may have seemed obscure to some progressives.

And the Communist manifesto should serve to underscore the ADA tenet which is a fundamental reason for the disagreement between the two organizations: ADA has differed with PCA in maintaining that genuine progressives cannot cooperate with Communists; that Communists would eventually betray the genuine progressive cause.

The Comintern now states that tenet in even sharper terms, denying any basis for cooperation between Communists and European progressives, and labelling leaders of the non-Communist left in Europe as its chief enemies.

• • •

THE Marshall Plan is a concept of which we believe every American has a right to be proud. It answers the demands of those critics who have called so long and so correctly for an affirmative American policy. It rekindled the hope, cherished by all American progressives since the day hostilities ceased, that this nation would place its strength and its wealth behind free men in all parts of the world.

*It is this hope that the meeting in Poland was mobilized to destroy.*

Democratic reconstruction of Europe through the Marshall Plan spells survival for the democrats of Europe and disaster for the fortunes of the Communists whose aspirations could only flourish in a Europe plagued by hunger and chaos.

Once again, the lines are clearly drawn.

The Communist spokesmen have declared that there is no real choice left in the world between the police state and the discredited dogmas of reaction. In order to enforce that false choice on Europe they have decreed war on the entire non-Communist left to defeat the Marshall Plan and accomplish the complete polarization of European politics.

We reject these false alternatives. We maintain that the issue is the achievement of a free society in which men can work out their own destinies.

If the Marshall Plan fails, Europe will be abandoned to hunger, want and political chaos. The hope of its fulfillment can be destroyed if the leaders of Western Europe are forced to reject aid for their people.

The Communist conclave in Poland challenged these leaders of Britain, France and Italy whom we count among the most honored champions of democracy.

The Communist declaration is no less a challenge to every progressive. It is a challenge to Henry A. Wallace, to open-minded members of PCA, and to every American liberal to speak out on this vital issue.

We can refuse to face stark reality or we can stand with the genuine democrats of Europe and shoulder the responsibilities that fulfillment of the Marshall Plan imposes on us all.

WILSON W. WYATT,
*National Chairman*

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
*Vice-Chairman*

LEON HENDERSON,
*Chairman, Executive Committee*

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR.,
*Vice-Chairman*

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☐ I want to join the ADA chapter in my community in support of ADA's all-out liberal program.

Name_____ Address_____

An Editorial, reprinted from ADA World, Official publication of AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

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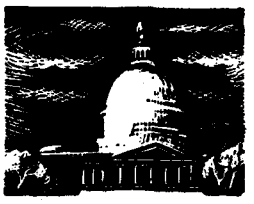
# Washington Wire

## *The "Stop Ike" Movement*

MAKE no doubt about it, the process of ganging up against General Dwight D. Eisenhower by the other Republican candidates for the presidency is now going on. They see in General Ike a new Wendell Willkie, and whatever their feelings may be to each other, they are unanimous in objecting to an outside "amateur" horning in on the GOP nomination. At first sight the layman would suppose that if Willkie could do the trick in 1940, then Ike can in 1948. But the fact is that the two men who saw Willkie put over that feat, Senator Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio) and New York's Governor Thomas E. Dewey, are doubly cautious today and both are still after the nomination. They think they know better how to handle any interloper now, and they are probably right.



In the 1940 Philadelphia convention, Willkie really got the nomination because Dewey wouldn't admit he was beaten and waited too long. If he had acknowledged defeat in time and thrown his delegates to Taft, Taft leaders are confident they could have put their man over. Dewey waited until he no longer had the disposal of his delegates, and the respective Taft-Dewey forces dissolved in the deadlock and reformed behind Willkie. Will that happen again for Dwight (Wendell Willkie) Eisenhower? Not if the other contestants can help it. If there is one thing they dislike, it is a hitchhiking candidate who didn't know he belonged to the party till the presidential bandwagon came by.

Dewey's strength among Republican organizers seems to be waning a bit, though he is still probably the best bet. Nobody really cares for Dewey, but his strength till now has consisted in the negative factor that there seemed to be no agreeable alternative. As one politician here remarked, "Nobody really wants to march again behind old mackerel eyes."

One important fact is that Taft and Stassen are personally friendly, while neither likes or trusts Dewey. No formal alliance exists between the two oddly different men, but there is an *entente cordiale.*

The result of the 1948 convention may well depend on whether, in the final analysis, Taft and Stassen would find it less irksome to see Dewey, rather than Ike, beat them. If such a choice has to be made by Taft and Stassen, it will certainly represent a fascinating contest between personal and professional prejudices.

THE Truman trumpet on foreign affairs continues to give forth a rather uncertain note. It is pretty uncomfortable living in Washington right now, watching the mess grow worse and worse, but we are getting used to it. The Herter Committee congressmen have returned apparently prepared to grant aid to Europe—reluctantly.

As we have written before, Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson doesn't really want to do anything drastic to implement the Marshall, or stop-gap, aid programs and is one of the principal hindrances to strong, decisive action, though even he probably didn't intend to say anything quite so damaging to the Luckman voluntary-food-saving program as what he did blurt out—that its chief benefit would be as a "symbol" of sacrifice. The irritation caused by that statement was evident in Truman's voice and face in the press conference which followed.

However, a lot of people who like the Luckman program agree that it touches only the fringe of the trouble, which is inflation, and that the government is now withholding adequate controls at great peril. One curiosity of the situation is that even if Congress assembles in December in special session, and even if it speedily sets

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about considering stop-gap aid, there will be at least one "pre-stop-gap aid" hunger month—December itself. December doesn't seem to be covered by any plan at all, although the State Department repeatedly emphasizes that the bottom of the barrel will be reached December 1. If Congress fails to act right away, then the emergency interim will be extended.

Taft tells reporters the President ought to dig up emergency funds from somewhere to fill this interval. Truman rather helplessly says he is still hunting for stray funds in some for gotten federal pocketbook or other, but that the Constitution seems to tie them all down.

Well, sooner or later the two-headed American government will make up its collective mind. Starving people must just remember that we have a system of divided authority and that an election is coming on.

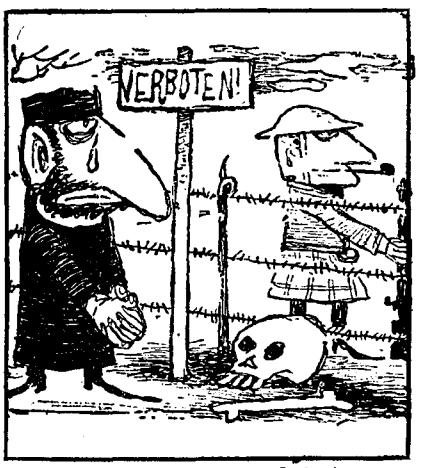
A congressional committee headed by Representative Clare E. Hoffman (R, Mich.) called before it last week Ben McKelway, editor of the Washington *Star,* and John Cline, chief editorial writer, and asked them what they meant by an editorial entitled "Disloyal Congressmen." Hoffman didn't say by what right he summoned the journalists, but they came anyway and said they did so voluntarily. In fairness it should be said that they did not retract their editorial, which was a pretty good one about congressmen who object to being investigated after investigating everybody else. But we ask other editorial writers if they like the precedent, now set, of appearing obediently before congressmen who don't like an editorial? Next time it may be members of the Supreme Court.

*Washington* T. R. B.

# FOREIGN PRESS: Cartoonists on World Events

*Germany, Frischer Wind*

*"Almighty God, preserve our wealth and protect our black market. . . ."*

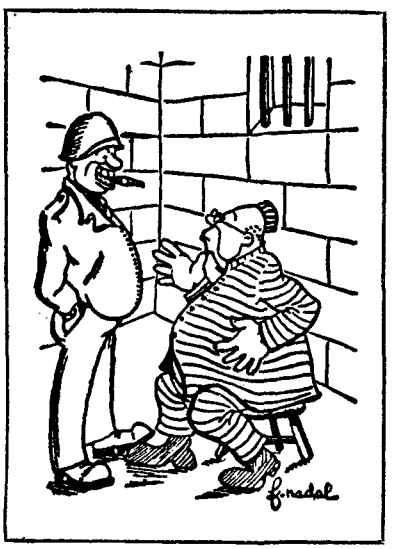



*Italy, Il Travaso*

*"At least now it's not on racial grounds."*

*France, Aux Ecoutes*

*"I tremble to think that we might have won the war."*



*France, Carrefour*

*"Krupp: Do you suppose they'll make good my war damages?"*

*France, Action*

*"General Charles de Gaulle."*

*Sweden, Ny Dag*

*"Mr. Truman, here is the interest on the money you loaned us."*

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New Republic

VOLUME 117, NUMBER 16, ISSUE 1716, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 20, 1947

# News in Focus

## Food, Luckman & Politics

CHARLES LUCKMAN was putting on a super-colossal performance as leader of the drive to save food. He and the hordes of helpers he imported from business did Washington's heart good. The second floor of the old State Department building swarmed with shirt-sleeved executives, carrying on the way the New Dealers used to do —working all night, shouting orders, eating their meals at their desks.

Within the limits assigned them, the Luckman crew made progress. The distillers agreed to make a beginning on cutting their use of grain. The bakers, Luckman associates say, have agreed to eliminate consignment selling of bread, which alone is expected to save three million bushels of wheat per month. And work has been started on setting up local community organizations.

The Luckman staff has decided to play down the "Meatless Tuesday" and "Poultryless Thursday" approach and base its publicity campaigns on a straight "Save Meat" and "Save Wheat" basis.

Several congressmen have been shocked to find that Luckman says right out loud that he is for feeding hungry people everywhere, not just in anti-Soviet countries.

He says that the emergency food program must be kept separate from the Marshall Plan. But there will be time for many pressures to work on him before he is called to testify in Congress.

Many agricultural experts shake their heads at all the sweating and the straining in Luckman's organization. The way to get grain, they point out, is to go out and buy it.

If the Secretary of Agriculture wanted to, he could buy the extra 100 million bushels of wheat Europe needs by by-passing the regular trade channels and going directly to the farmers who have it on hand. But it would take courage thus to force Americans to economize, and Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson wants everybody to like him. He wants to be Vice President.

## The Inscrutable East

ON October 10, the Washington *News* ran an article by William Philip Simms, Scripps-Howard foreign editor, which declared: "Added up, the reports are alarming. Chiang Kai-shek is described as fighting a rear-guard action against the Communists."

Two pages back of Simms was a Nanking dispatch which began: "Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek said in a speech today the Communist threat was 'no longer a danger' to the Chinese National Government. . . ."

## New Dust Bowl

As if the food crisis weren't already serious enough, reports of the US Soil Conservation Service and the Weather Bureau indicate that another dust bowl is in the making in the Southwest.

The last few months of abnormally dry weather have severely damaged the pastures in western Oklahoma, western Kansas, the Texas Panhandle and eastern New Mexico. In these areas soil-moisture depth on October 1 was only 10 to 20 inches: a depth of 22 to 32 inches is fair. This means: (1) more grain on hand must be fed to livestock to replace the dried-up pastures; and (2) the winter wheat crop in the Southwest may be blown out of the ground.

## Turkish Delight

TOP brass of the Army, Navy and Air Forces turned itself inside out to give an impressive picture of US military might to the visiting chief of staff of the Turkish Army, General Salih Omurtak, and his 14 aides. Our newly purchased allies were flown 9,000 miles around the country to see airfields, weapons and military installations. Last stop was a tantalizing glimpse into Fort Knox, where all the gold is buried.

## Marshall Law

WITH terrible majesty the State Department last week abrogated the Bill of Rights as far as its own employees are concerned.

In a "Code of Security Principles" the department announced that employees on trial before the Personnel Security Board could not:

¶ Confront witnesses testifying against them;

¶ Obtain the source of charges against them;

¶ Examine evidence.

The only boon allowed an accused man was to testify in his own behalf. But if there is "reasonable doubt" of his guilt, the department decreed that he be adjudged guilty.

Evidence to be considered by the board includes writings and speeches "of political, economic or social views" and records of participation in anything deemed a "front" organization.

An employee is also considered "a security risk" if found guilty of "voluntary association with" any other persons who are *"believed to be"* security risks.

The code, more worthy of the regime of Marshal Pétain than of General Marshall, was a logical ex-

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tension of the department's action in refusing to rehire three employees who had first been fired as subversive and then subsequently cleared of the charges by the loyalty board.

Army and Navy courts martial never went so far. Even Latin American and European dictatorships usually make a better show of fair play under the law.

## Two-Way Truman

THE Louisville rent-control case seems another example of how the Truman Administration thumps the table for progressive causes in the spotlight while it slips to the reactionaries morsel after morsel in the shadows.

The issue came up when the rent-control board of Louisville, Kentucky, composed of two bankers, two real-estate and insurance men and one lawyer, secretly drew up, without public hearings, a recommendation that rents be allowed to rise five percent. Housing Expediter Frank H. Creedon at once approved the recommendation.

Labor and progressive housing experts pointed out that the law provides for approval of board recommendations only when they are "appropriately substantiated." Rent officials agreed with them that Creedon had the power to turn down the boost.

President Truman came in on the side of the real-estate interests. Although he had been loud in his disapproval of higher rents when the law was in the limelight, he went on record now as saying that Creedon had to approve the recommendations of local boards, no matter how packed the boards were with high-rent men. He was sorry, but Creedon was just a rubber stamp.

## The 'Cominform' and the Czechs

PRAGUE (by wireless). – A mood of pessimism has spread among the three Czech non-Communist political parties—the Social Democrats, National Socialists and the Catholic People's Party—since the Czech Communist Party joined the Belgrade Information Committee. Moderate observers regard the move as a threat to the unity of the national-front government which has existed ever since Czechoslovakia was liberated in 1945. There is a widespread feeling that the gulf between the Communist and the non-Communist parties may be disagreeably widened in the near future.

Until recently, the Social Democrats and the Communists worked together in domestic problems. But collaboration temporarily broke down some weeks ago when the Social Democrats refused to support a Communist proposal for a capital tax, known as the millionaires' levy, to raise money to subsidize farmers who have suffered from the catastrophic drought.

NEXT month the Social Democratic congress will discuss the party's working agreement with the Communists in the light of the Belgrade "Cominform." The left wing, headed by Zdenek Fierlinger, Deputy Prime Minister, may be forced to get out, and the party is too small to be able to afford a split. The right wing probably will go farther Right toward a closer tie with the West.

All parties are working and thinking against the background of the parliamentary elections scheduled for the spring, and the next few months will see a bitter election campaign.

The second largest political party, the National Socialist, is likely to come out into the open more aggressively as the champion of free enterprise, historical materialism and Western culture. A half-century old, this party regards itself as the custodian of the Masaryk myth and refuses to recognize that the myth has lost its power. Most of the National Socialists are middle-class men who hate communism hysterically, and the party will now exploit the chauvinistic instincts of the Czechs more than ever.

THE Communists have until now taken the stand that, as good Czech patriots, they were ready to work with the West as well as the East. The Belgrade manifesto will make this position untenable. Already National Socialists are saying that Czech Communist collaboration with Polish and Hungarian Communists will prevent solution of such problems as the Teschen territory and the Hungarian minority.

It is becoming clear now to the Czechs, even to those who formerly lived in the cloudy world of which Geneva was the capital, that the Czechoslovak problem isn't ideological at all but grimly geographical.

P. BEAUMONT WADSWORTH

## PR in New York

BOTH the Republican and Democratic machines in New York City hope to repeal the system of proportional representation by which city councilmen are elected. The issue comes up for a vote on November 4, and the machine politicians are yelling that PR means communism. Tammany Hall's Frank Sampson declares it is a "Stalin Frankenstein."

The machine motive in attacking PR is fairly clear. In 10 years the system has prevented either major party from gaining overwhelming control of the city council by making possible the election of small-party and independent candidates. PR supporters, including the League of Women Voters, point out that in the last four city elections, the Democrats got 66, 65, 59 and 60 percent of the council seats with 65, 64, 53 and 59 percent of the vote. PR's friends say that's just good democracy.

## Pal Ed, Again

HARRY TRUMAN is about to be publicly grateful to millionaire oilman Ed Pauley again. Two years ago Truman failed to persuade the Senate that Pauley, up to his neck in the tidelands-oil scandal, was fit to be Undersecretary of the Navy, even though he had personally raised the larger part of the campaign fund that elected Truman.

Several weeks ago, Pauley quietly returned to Washington as a special assistant to Secretary of the Army Kenneth Royall. Now Senator Charles Tobey (R, N. H.), who led the fight against Pauley's confirmation for the

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Navy job, reports that both Secretary of Defense James Forrestal and Secretary Royall called on him to say that the President wanted to appoint Pauley Secretary of the Army when Royall resigns to run for Governor of North Carolina. They hoped Tobey would not oppose him.

Tobey will.

## CIO-AFL

IN a dispatch sent from San Francisco a day before the AFL convention convened, *NR* correspondent Robin Kinkead reported: "Also to be settled is how far to go along with the CIO in political action."

The question of AFL-CIO coöperation against the Taft-Hartley Act hit newspaper headlines more than a week later when CIO president, Philip Murray, sent an appeal from the CIO convention in Boston. The answer from AFL president William Green was: "not without organic unity" of the two organizations, and Murray was left holding his own position that before actual merger must come trial "coöperation."

Special *NR* correspondents in Boston and San Francisco noted that:

Boston: Phil Murray, still playing peacemaker between Right and Left in the CIO (see page 12), appeared to be yielding slightly to right-wing pressure.

San Francisco: The AFL and the CIO were working together, at least on a local level. Both organizations are backing Franck R. Havenner for mayor.

Further developments will be covered by *NR* correspondents in next week's *New Republic*.

THE ISSUE: TAFT-HARTLEY

# United Nations News

## *Agreement on Palestine*

THE announcement of the new Communist organization came during a week when the UN was beset with world problems of its own. UN delegates from Eastern Europe made no bones about the formalization of an already existing situation. "Yes, we want to coördinate and direct the verbal and political war against the US and Britain," one Eastern European delegate said. "Should we allow ourselves to be caught with our hands in our pockets?" Whether this side of the war is fought by an international Communist group or by a bloc of nations within the Soviet orbit, the effect on the UN is exactly the same. The war itself is destructive to the UN, but it's the same war now that existed two months ago.

Despite this war, the Palestine question has accomplished the unprecedented—a US and USSR agreement within the United Nations. But though both countries support partition, this by no means solves the problem.

US support of partition is based entirely on the Balfour Declaration guaranteeing the Jews a national home in Palestine. In deference to our British friends, there was no criticism of the United Kingdom's mandate over Palestine and, in fact, the UK was cautioned against backing out during Palestine's transition to independence.

The Soviet position is based, not so much on the Balfour Declaration as on the failure of the mandate and the necessity for terminating it immediately, on the impossibility of Jewish-Arab rapprochement and on the plight of Jewish refugees today. Both countries hope to modify the majority report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), thereby maintaining Arab friendship, oil concessions and a strategic toehold in the Middle East. Giving Jaffa to the Arabs, as the US proposes, or rearranging boundaries to make the two states more workable physically, as the USSR suggests, may facilitate a solution.

If such concessions are used to cause unnecessary delay, successful partition will become less and less possible, for Arab leaders will know that they have the moral, if not the verbal, backing of the big powers. The US recommends that a General Assembly subcommittee do the work and the Soviet Union wants UNSCOP to handle the problem after further study. The two methods can be reconciled by appointing a subcommittee composed of UNSCOP members, the Big Five and some representation from the Arab states.

EVEN more important is the question of effecting the partition, which now seems certain of acceptance by the required two-thirds of the Assembly. Both the US and the USSR must share in enforcement. The US admits that a "special constabulary or police force recruited on a volunteer basis by the United Nations" may be necessary. It remains to be seen how far Congress will allow this country to go in contributing to such a force. The USSR is even less explicit (partly because the US statement is so tenuous), but has stated that "it is necessary to take a decision on the authority which will govern during the transition period and be responsible to the . . . UN, and to work out in connection with this the necessary measures."

Both countries have made courageous statements. Final solution of one of the world's most crucial problems seems imminent. Arab threats cannot seriously impede that solution. Only the big powers can do so by quibbling over details, by delaying the settlement. One can only hope that S. K. Tsarapkin of the USSR did not mean to do that when he said, "If, at this session, the General Assembly will decide on the question of the creation of an Arab and a Jewish state, this will be a great step forward. . . ." A decision of principle alone is too little now.

JANE BEDELL

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# The Meaning of the British Cabinet Shift

On October 7, sweeping changes were announced in the make-up of the British government, and a large portion of the American press at once interpreted them as a hasty reaction to Britain's crisis. But the fact is that Prime Minister Attlee and his senior colleagues have been pondering them for several months. Their problem has been to work out a major government reconstruction, retiring old or inefficient Ministers and bringing in capable younger men, without upsetting the balance between the party rightists, moderates and leftists.

The division between the Left and the Right in the government has not been so sharp as many observers believe. True, Labor "rebels" in the House of Commons have regarded Aneurin Bevan and Emanuel Shinwell as their spokesmen in the cabinet, and other members of the government—which itself includes more than a quarter of the Parliamentary Labor Party—have been named as sympathetic to Left critics of foreign policy. But these "Left" Ministers have obviously been willing to work along with the cabinet policy as a whole or they would have resigned already.

The balance between the Left and the Right of the cabinet would only be upset if the Left were driven to resign on an issue considered fundamental by the party rank and file—that is, if, for instance, the cabinet decided to abandon the socialization of the iron and steel industry as a matter of principle. In that case, "Left" Ministers would have to choose between loyalty to cabinet policy and the loss of their backing among Labor MP's.

Why, then, did Premier Attlee make these changes now? When he addressed his followers after the General Election victory in 1945, Attlee promised that those Ministers who did not prove their worth would be asked to resign, whatever their record of party service. Although there have been minor changes over the last two years, this is the first shake-up which shows that the efficiency test is being applied fairly ruthlessly.

The changes represent an effort to streamline policy-making and administration at a time when delay or muddle may cost both the Labor Government and Britain a high price. In the new cabinet, political control is more firmly vested than ever in the hands of the "inner six"—Attlee, Cripps, Bevin, Morrison, Dalton and Alexander. This group, with the other dozen cabinet members, will formulate the general principles of policy and issue directives which will override departmental sectionalism.

The three Defense Ministries have already been excluded from the cabinet and are represented there by A. V. Alexander. Now Fuel and Power, Supply and the Board of Trade—all crucial in the economic Battle for Britain—have been made responsible to Sir Stafford Cripps, in supreme control of all economic affairs.

The men who built the party are reaching the end of their careers. Now the government is making room for able young men largely drawn from the Civil Service.

Here are the faces of the men most involved in the shake-up:

*Sir Stafford Cripps* (Economic Co-ordinator): Left in the political wilderness before the war because of his support of the Popular Front, austere Sir Stafford has climbed through a series of crises to his new position of "economic dictator." Sent by Churchill as Ambassador to Moscow at a critical stage of the war, and then on a special mission to India to inaugurate negotiations that led to the present settlement, Cripps has preached hard work and austerity at home as the only solution to Britain's economic difficulties. Though not so popular as Left colleague Aneurin Bevan, Cripps is liked and trusted.

*Harold Wilson* (Board of Trade): At 31, Wilson is already a long way up the political ladder. A university don drafted to Civil Service work during the war, Wilson rose rapidly to high administrative posts. Even then a Cripps protégé, he entered Parliament for the first time in the landslide of 1945. Sent to Moscow recently to discuss a $400 million trade treaty, Wilson got on excellently with Russian negotiators and nearly succeeded in carrying the treaty through, but was unable to get the British cabinet to accept certain minor Russian demands. He now heads the vital Board of Trade.

*Emanuel Shinwell* (War Office): Most surprising of all cabinet changes was demotion of Fuel Minister Shinwell to head the War Office. Shinwell, the present party chairman, is a lifelong leftist and especially popular with mine workers. Rumors that Shinwell

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would resign during last February's coal crisis were checked when the miners' leaders—notably the Communist Arthur Horner—insisted they had confidence in Shinwell and would not have him made a scapegoat for the crisis. There are two sides to the argument about Shinwell's efficiency. Moving him seems to confirm the doubters. Shinwell's place has been taken by Hugh Gaitskell, another of Cripps's wartime discoveries, and, like Harold Wilson, a young university man with Civil Service training.

*John Hynd* (out): Demoted months ago from Control Office for Germany and Austria to Minister of Pensions, Hynd was a likable but, even his friends concede, somewhat ineffective Minister. Sharply criticized for British policy in Germany, Hynd made a sincere effort to check abuses but was apparently powerless to push through reforms. Very much a spokesman of his officials and of the general cabinet policy, Hynd probably took the rap for other people's mistakes. His place in the Pensions Ministry has been given to George Buchanan, long a member of the Left Independent Labor Party group from Glasgow and a specialist in social-service problems.

*Frederick J. Bellenger* (out): Making way for Shinwell at the War Office, Bellenger leaves the government without a distinguished record. A self-constituted spokesman for soldiers' grievances during the war, Bellenger was expected to push for improved conditions of service and army democratization. The soldiers' hopes were disappointed.

*John Wilmot* (out): A self-made businessman, Wilmot was for some time regarded as a rising star in the Labor Party. A hearty fellow, he has put forth good ideas for using government-owned plants to break production bottlenecks in housing components, but they did not come off quite so well as he had planned. Though a declared supporter of the plan to nationalize the iron and steel industry, he has been trying hard to avoid antagonizing the steel operators and thus hold up steel output at a critical time. He makes room for George Russell Strauss, one of the richest and most radical Labor MP's.

*Philip Noel-Baker* (Commonwealth Relations): Unassuming Noel-Baker has always been one of the Labor Party's moderate intellectuals. Winning prominence through his exposure of the international arms racket, Noel-Baker has taken a more or less pacifist position. He now holds cabinet rank as Minister for Commonwealth Relations (after a recent visit to Yugoslavia where he is said to have had a cordial conversation with Tito). Another good appointment in the Colonial Office is Colonel David Rees-Williams, who earlier this year made a detailed study of the Burmese situation.

*A. V. Alexander* (Defense): Though many people around the House of Commons expected Alexander to disappear —either to the House of Lords or, like the lifelong labor leader, Arthur Greenwood, out of the political limelight— he has held on as Minister of Defense. Unpopular with Labor "rebels," who regard him as another mouthpiece for Ernest Bevin, Alexander is also disliked by the Tories for his capitulation on the National Service Bill which reduced the conscription period from 18 months to one year.

*Drawings by Ivan Opffer*

*Aneurin Bevan* (Health): Just before the Parliamentary Labor Party, by a fairly narrow majority, decided to postpone a decision about iron and steel nationalization, the gossips said that Bevan and Food Minister John Strachey threatened to resign if the party definitely repudiated nationalization before the next election. The issue was not forced and Bevan stayed put. As the Left's candidate for Prime Minister some day not too far away, Bevan can go on with his housing program and still keep the support of his political friends on the Left.

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# Henry Wallace

## New England Today

DURING a 10-day trip in New England I saw that section of our country turn in color. The autumn foliage in the Berkshires, Vermont and New Hampshire made the fall visit a thing of beauty. Surpassing the natural beauty was the heartening attitude of thousands of New Englanders on the grave problems of the day.

Here, as elsewhere, there is concern about the course of our present foreign policy and the failure to take steps which will either avert or cushion the oncoming depression.

Provost Paul Buck of Harvard, expressing his disagreement with some of my views, still came to the Soldiers' Field meeting. Throughout New England I found that the fear makers have not yet been able to subvert the fundamental devotion to civil liberties of community leaders holding widely divergent views. Everywhere there was respect for the fundamental right to differ, though in some communities there had been campaigns to keep the workers from coming to our meetings.

New England is faced with serious economic problems. Year after year its manufacturing has declined in relation to the total output of the nation. For the past century its manufacturers have invested hundreds of millions of dollars elsewhere, with the result that today New England brings in many more goods from other states than it exports to them.

Agriculturally, its soil is becoming less productive, and there are fewer acres under the plow than there were a century ago. Even grass—the greatest agricultural asset of New England—is often not harvested.

Though New England is still one of the four great workshops of the nation, with some 40 percent of its people employed in factories, the area is increasingly dependent on catering to tourists and educating children and youth from other states.

Confronted with a depression, New England will be in a very bad way unless it coöperates with the federal government in the development of the Connecticut and Merrimac River Valley Authorities and the St. Lawrence Seaway. New England will be in for a steady downhill movement unless it gets cheaper power and a comprehensive program for soil conservation and the development of recreational areas.

Its greatest agricultural need is a high-quality leguminous hay, which means the application of more lime and phosphate and putting the green clover or alfalfa into silos or drying it out in a barn hay-dryer.

Camouflaged by natural beauty are rural slums, which are as much a reflection on the state of our great nation as the pitiable conditions of Southern sharecroppers. No people have ever battled so valiantly to overcome unkind soil and climate as the farmers of Vermont and New Hampshire, but these rural slums tell the story of failure to plan for the wise use of land. People were never supposed to try to make a living out of much of the land of New England, and today about five percent of the farmers of New Hampshire and eastern Vermont get a total income, including the value of the produce they consume themselves, of less than $500 a year.

AWARE of the problems of the farmers, the Vermont Farm Bureau Federation has for many years provided progressive leadership and has had the good sense to develop a coöperative relationship with the Grange, the co-ops, the CIO, the AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods. For six years these organizations were joined together in a Vermont Farm-Labor Conference and in 1946 they organized themselves into the Labor and Farm Council to plan and coördinate programs.

The co-ops themselves have another council to promote their movement. W. G. Loveless, executive secretary of the group, told me that the co-ops did a business of $40 million last year, of which $32 million was milk sold principally on the Boston market.

Meeting these men and women in Vermont, I understood better the essentially progressive role and attitude of their Republican Senator, George Aiken, one of the finer men in Congress. The explanation of his progressive strength is to be found in such organizations as the Labor and Farm Council, where farmers and workers, regardless of political party, pull together.

During the course of the New England trip I had enjoyable visits at a number of schools and colleges. At the Putney School in Vermont, boys and girls of high-school age amazed me with their general information and grasp of major problems.

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Another interesting stop on the trip was at the headquarters of the American Youth Hostels at Northfield, Massachusetts. This non-profit organization, with 150,000 members, has developed a program for directed travel, both at home and abroad, which helps young Americans develop the understanding of other peoples which is so essential to building peace.

In New Hampshire I spent a pleasant evening at Meriden with my old friend Harry Carlson, a true progressive who was recently made Democratic National Committeeman.

Harry's problem was dramatized as he drove us around the countryside. Stopping at a small grocery store to make a call, Harry told us that the storekeeper was the only Democrat in town and a great friend. We could hear their words clearly through the door: "There are good Republicans in the US and there are many good Democrats. But, Mr. Carlson, there aren't any good Democrats in Washington now."

Harry beat a hasty retreat, and I couldn't help wondering how many Democratic politicos find themselves in his position. Some of us, without official party positions, are able to work openly to eliminate the discrepancies between the party's principles and actions, but the Harry Carlsons have a more difficult time. We must give them the organized support that will make them effective and let them follow the dictates of their hearts without the necessity of momentary compromises.

In New Hampshire I met Republicans who believed in progressive legislation, who approved of school-lunch programs and health and housing legislation—yet many of these people did not know how their elected representatives stood on such matters. In Claremont, New Hampshire, I was told that the town of 15,000 was still run by the town-meeting method and that only a few hundred people turned out to make major decisions of policy and to direct the community's affairs. The abdication of responsibility by so many citizens is the greatest threat to our country. We have the machinery for political democracy, but we still haven't used it. H. W.

# The Communist Answer

## by Michael Straight

THE Warsaw Manifesto of the nine Communist Parties is the exact counterpart of the Truman Doctrine, just as false and just as destructive of the hopes for peace.

Of course its language is malevolent. The language used by both sides in the cold war is of less importance than the strategy and the objectives. America's objective is to "hold the fronts" in Europe. Our strategy is to use America's economic power to force Communists out of European governments and to keep them out. That has become an unspoken but fundamental precondition of aid under the Marshall Plan.

The counter-strategy of the Warsaw Manifesto is to recognize that the days of collaboration are over. It asserts that in *weakness,* because of "the sharpening of the crisis of capitalism," America is undertaking "to subjugate the world." And since, in Communist eyes, this undertaking is absolutely necessary to capitalism, it can only be countered by bringing superior force to bear against it. In this the enemy is not Wall Street, but America, since Wall Street controls America. The slogan is: "The banner of national independence and sovereignty"—a tattered flag! The methods designed for Europe apparently reject parliamentary coalition to work for "national fronts."

Both the Warsaw Doctrine and the Truman Doctrine reject the UN concept of peace through coöperation in the enforcement of commonly accepted principles. Each is founded on the unlimited aggressiveness of the other; each claims that peace can be preserved only by the mobilization of greatly superior force on its side.

But neither is capable of mobilizing such power because neither is related to the people's needs. The Warsaw program attacks collaborators with the US who are as far Left as Blum and Attlee. Yet it calls on all "democratic and patriotic forces" to "gather around . . . a common anti-imperialistic and democratic platform." It isn't a democratic platform and it won't work. There is growing resentment of America among other peoples. But the peoples of the world don't give a damn about gathering around a platform of barren hostility to America even under the corrupted slogans of "national honor and independence" that the Warsaw Manifesto raises. They want to know how to find food, shelter and peace. So both doctrines will fail, but in failing they may bring war.

A short interval remains, in which certain ties between the two worlds are still uncut. During this interval, a Truman-Stalin conference, compelled by public pressure, can still break up the cold war into its components and attack these components in a constructive spirit. Without this, the very best we can hope for is an armed truce.

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# How Long Can He Compromise?

by James Higgins

## *Squeezed between the Catholic Right and the Communist Left, CIO president Phil Murray still tries to steer a middle course*

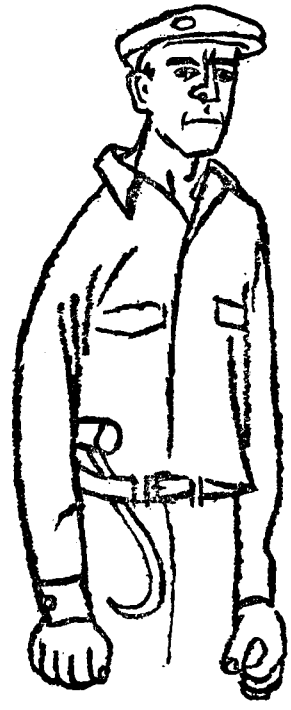
*At the age of six, in Lanarkshire, Scotland, he went to a miners' strike meeting and heard the settlement announced: $1.65 a day. The next year, in the winter of '93, he scoured the town after school for 17 weeks, grubbing for bones and potatoes for the strike soup kitchen. Born in Scotland of Irish parents, at 10 he himself entered the mines full time, his dad's helper. Six years later, father and son went ahead of the rest of the family to the United States, carrying international-coal-union transfer cards with them into the bituminous regions of western Pennsylvania.*

*Eighteen years old, at a mine owned by the Keystone Coal and Coke Company, he belted a foreman cheating the miners on the weigh. In the strike that followed they made him president of the United Mine Workers local. In four weeks, hunger drove the miners underground to the coal again, the strike broken. Deputy sheriffs flanked him on the way to Pittsburgh. "Don't ever come back," they said.*

*"I never had a doubt in my mind since then of what I wanted to do with my life."*

TODAY, at 61, Philip Murray presides with gracious and reassuring demeanor over the 40-odd autonomous unions of the CIO. This week, his presidential calm is being put to severe test at the CIO's ninth constitutional convention in Boston. For delegates on the floor, representing five million rank-and-file members, also represent a fundamental conflict inside the CIO that threatens the organization as it was never threatened by the guns and gas of company police or the charge of strikebreakers against a picket line. And just as the CIO is divided, so are the emotions and ideals of its president. Behind the gentle countenance of Philip Murray, labor leader and Roman Catholic, lies the mind of a deeply troubled man.

He has gone to this convention as a Catholic who is sworn to oppose Communists but who cannot yet bring himself to join the all-out campaign against the Left. He goes as a leader whose organization was launched with blessings of the New Deal but who still has difficulty getting along with New Deal intellectuals and labor theoreticians. He goes as an insurgent who learned long ago that the AFL's "pure-and-simple" unionism was not enough, but who still feels that he has to shy away from large-scale political action and is haunted by the ghost of Gompers and his policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies."



Murray tries to resolve this three-way division in his own mind just as for seven years he has tried to compromise between the divisions within the CIO as a whole. But if he is disturbed by thoughts of the CIO's decline from the clamorous, rank-and-file, democratic organization it was in the mid-thirties to an institution so highly charged with differences that its delegates must sit on their hands and hold their tongues at conventions, he has not allowed such thoughts visibly to ruffle his dignity. Murray is still able to describe the CIO, in his slow and purposeful rhetoric, as "a mighty American organization founded upon the rock of industrial unionism."

This utter faith, stated in a day of internal conflict, would seem to be just what is needed in supreme office. And it is true that the Murray faith, imposed in the form of many a conciliatory compromise among CIO elements, has kept the organization's structure intact and its efficiency adjusted to at least moderate speed. But Murray's manipulation of compromise has been made possible not only by his talents as a skillful and patient peacemaker. It has also been made possible by the equilibrium of CIO forces which Murray inherited—along with an ivory gavel—from the weeping John L. Lewis at the 1940 convention.

The faces of these forces have been familiar at CIO meetings for years. First there are those old-time Mine Workers who stuck with Murray in 1942 when Lewis marched out of the CIO—men like the wispy-haired, gravel-throated Allan Haywood, now

*James Higgins wrote the* New Republic's *series on the Teamsters' Union and was co-author of the article on the Atlantic Fishermen's Union.*

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CIO director of organization, who looks like John Bull in American clothes, and John Brophy, the plodding, fussy director of CIO city and state industrial councils. At the limits of these men's vision undoubtedly lies the creation of a common-sense alliance with the AFL that would combine more than 13 million workers into an organization to plug for decent social legislation and go on bargaining for wages, hours and conditions until the end of time.

### *The young unpredictables*

A SIMILAR philosophy is held by other former Mine Workers who now head the United Steelworkers, Murray's own union, and by the leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. There were many rumors of friction between Murray and Sidney Hillman, but whatever friction might naturally have existed between two responsible CIO spokesmen was always resolved in common policy. Now that Hillman's place on CIO councils has been assumed by the patriarchal Jacob Potofsky and the bustling, sharp-eyed Frank Rosenblum, agreement with Murray and the Steelworkers is practically routine. Such agreement is encouraged by that fact that Sidney Hillman's CIO Political Action Committee, now nominally administered by a five-man committee and nominally chaired by Jack Kroll, an Amalgamated stalwart, is actually guided by Philip Murray.

The Steelworkers and the Amalgamated have been the stabilizing element in the CIO—regularly joined in this by such right-thinking junior partners as the Rubber Workers, Oil Workers and (during the presidency of Rolland J. Thomas) by the United Auto Workers. Those who from time to time rock the ship left or right are (a) the young unpredictables—some of them with Socialist backgrounds—who appeared out of the mass of the unorganized in the CIO crusade of the thirties; and (b) the young revolutionaries—some with Communist backgrounds—who appeared at the same time out of the same mass.

Prominent among the CIO unpredictables are James B. Carey, the pale, tense and boyish leader of the United Electrical Workers, who has been secretary-treasurer of the national CIO through the years; cocky, bantamweight Johnny Green of the Shipbuilders, a former Socialist; and Walter Reuther, the red-headed phenomenon of a union man who doesn't smoke, drink or play poker. Perhaps the most unpredictable of all is lumbering Joe Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, who, in 1945, broke with what he calls "Communist Party functionaries" in the NMU after 10 years of having made common cause with them.

Meanwhile on Phil Murray's left inside the CIO stand Harry Bridges, the lean-jawed leader of the International Longshoremen; excitable, rabble-rousing Mike Quill of the Transport Workers, who grew up in the Irish revolutionary movement; Ben Gold of the Fur Workers, a member of the Communist Party National Executive; swarthy George Addes, secretary-treasurer of the UAW and one of the most capable administrators in the CIO; and the controversial UE triumvirate, Albert Fitzgerald, Julius Emspak and James Matles.

Such are the forces which Philip Murray, ordinarily mild but capable on occasion of harsh, tough talk, has coaxed and lashed toward his several objectives. Between Pearl Harbor and the surrender of Japan, the objective of winning the war had Murray and CIO priority. No doubt Murray expected that with war's end, the resumption of drives toward the other objectives—*i.e.*, organizing the unorganized and negotiating contracts—would restore equilibrium of forces inside the CIO, and so he followed the Murray principles of "non-intervention" in the politics of individual unions, and "no ideology" in top CIO discussions. But the gigantic offensive launched by big industry after the war against the CIO so shifted the balance of CIO forces that "non-intervention" became as meaningless a phrase as it was during the days of the Spanish civil war, while "no ideology" became almost as bland a denial of CIO realities as the AFL's ignoring of racketeers in its own ranks.

A case in point is the political and

PHILIP MURRAY

ideological wrangle that has been going on inside the CIO's United Electrical Workers. James Carey, left dangling in the secretary-treasurership of the CIO after losing the presidency of the UE, has wanted his old job back. For, without it, Carey holds no block of votes and thus little power—except what is granted him—in the CIO. His present boss, Phil Murray, has kept himself aloof from Carey's struggles in the UE, and when questioned says simply that Jim holds a card in UE and has a right to be active. But Carey now leads an ideological group that calls itself the UE Members for Democratic Action—and this group receives its main support not from one of the traditional forces in the CIO, but from outside of it. Carey's faction is being vigorously and persistently backed by an arm of Catholic Action—the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

### *Priestly unionism*

THE ACTU, founded in 1937 in the modest kitchen of the *Catholic Worker* hospice in New York, is now a national organization with powerful chapters in many American cities. Local units, composed of Catholic union members, meet regularly in parish halls, attend Mass Communion break-

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*Drawings by Ben Shahn*

PRESSURE FROM THE VATICAN . . .

fasts and enroll in schools administered and staffed by priests. The predominant topic at ACTU gatherings is "Stop Communism"—a theme which characterizes ACTU activity not only among the United Electrical Workers but in every large CIO union.

Many sincere unionists accept the ACTU's "Stop Communism" on the ground that Communists and their friends take ideological orders from Moscow. The ACTU, however, admits that its own ideology is determined by a "foreign" power, the Church of Rome. The ACTU has a social and economic program that is derived from two papal encyclicals—the *Rerum Novarum* and the *Immortale Dei* of Leo XIII—which instruct Catholics that a guild system, much like that which flourished in medieval times when Church and State were one, is the ideal form of relationship between workers and factory owners. The ACTU is taught that realization of this program depends upon the elimination of Communists and Communist thought from the CIO.

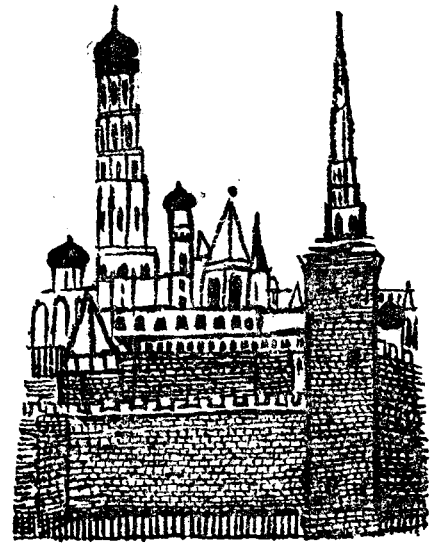
But the result of such a program as the ACTU's is to label and damn as "Communist" many union men whose most progressive thought doesn't go beyond the Wagner Act. Ironically, the program even has the effect of damning those Catholic leaders in the CIO internationals who refuse to put their hearts and souls at the disposal of the ACTU. In the UE, for example, the ACTU is backing one Catholic, Carey, against another, Fitzgerald. Stranger still, in the UAW, Catholic George Addes is regarded as an enemy —and described as such in the influential Detroit ACTU *Wage Earner*— while Protestant Walter Reuther is an often praised friend.

Another ironic aspect of the ACTU program is its resemblance to the "non-Communist" provision of the Taft-Hartley Act, which Philip Murray has called "the first step toward fascism" in America.

The debilitating effect of ACTU actions in the CIO has not been limited to the local and international unions. In the top CIO itself similar disruptions have been attributed by many to the hand of Catholic Dave McDonald, secretary of the Steelworkers. McDonald has the authority of one second-in-command to a busy president; lacking the rock-solid union experience from boyhood up which is the basis of Murray's character, he has made no effort to separate his religion from his CIO office. At the 1946 CIO convention, for example, McDonald was accompanied by a retinue of priests whenever he strolled through the lobby of the Hotel Chelsea or went sniffing the sea breezes along the boardwalk.

### *Target for tomorrow?*

THE pressure developed by McDonald and his group has been responsible for a series of resignations by CIO "professionals" who were among the most competent men in the organization. First to go, in ill health, was Clinton Golden, a respected and statesmanlike figure, who was dismayed by the atmosphere he encountered when he returned to CIO service from the War Production Board. Intelligent, hard-driving Harold Ruttenberg, the Steelworkers' research director who is admitted by industrialists to know more about steel economics than any man in the country, resigned for similar reasons. Len De Caux, mild, Oxfordian editor of the *CIO News* and for many months a target for CIO leaders who accused him of "leftist" tendencies, was replaced by "neutral" Pete Swim from Memphis. And recently Bob Lamb, former Har-



. . . AND THE KREMLIN

vard and Williams instructor in economics and an expert legislative director for the Steelworkers and the CIO, decided he too had to be on his way.

The only topstaff member left from the early days of enthusiasm is impeccably dressed, pipe-smoking Lee Pressman, general counsel for both the Steelworkers and the CIO. But even Pressman is not secure. When Senator Taft goes on the air to accuse Pressman of writing Truman's Taft-Hartley bill veto message, Philip Murray can laugh at the fantasy. But when Dave McDonald's enmity scorches the relationship between Pressman and Murray, when ACTU-directed stones from all over the CIO are daily flung at the general counsel, it is possible that Pressman, too, will become a victim of a situation in which Murray, as CIO president, is a buffeted and puzzled figure.

### *"Throw out the Reds"*

FOR Philip Murray himself, despite his humble devotion to the Church, has not been let off easy by the ACTU and other Catholic powers. Delegations wearing the Roman collar have discussed the CIO with Murray. Lay and ecclesiastic writers for the Catholic press have advised him to be a strong man and "throw out the Reds." ACTU spokesmen, in their meeting places in the industrial cities and towns of America, have told rank-and-file members that Murray, though

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a good man, is weak, and that he must be given membership support in order to bring him to the point where he will announce publicly his decision to run individual Communists (designated by the ACTU) out of the CIO.

To all Catholic visitors Murray has repeated his basic trade-union conviction: that the CIO is American in its organization and aims; that it desires nothing more than to achieve its "well defined social and economic goals" within the context of American political freedom; that it will not tolerate interference from groups outside the CIO; but that he, having been through the experience of being castigated as a Communist, will not endanger the existence of the CIO by "witch hunts." Through these sentiments shines Murray's belief in his job as he sees it—to hold his organization together.

### *Three from each side*

IT was to hold the CIO together—to offset the realignment of forces caused by the growth and activity of the ACTU—that Murray at the 1946 convention attempted one of his most famous compromises. With his imagination, and perhaps his sense of humor, working overtime, he appointed a committee, consisting of leftists Mike Quill, Ben Gold and Abram Flaxer (the quiet president of the Public Workers), and rightists Reuther, Emil Rieve (president of the Textile Workers) and Milton Murray (then president of the Newspaper Guild), to draw up a statement of fundamental policy for the CIO. This committee, composed of equal teams from the convention's extremist wings, battled two days in a hotel room to a scoreless tie. Then Philip Murray proposed a resolution that stated his convictions in much the same language that he had used to his Catholic visitors. CIO delegates, who for the most part firmly agree with Murray on the self-sufficiency of the CIO, voted to "reject and resent efforts of the Communist Party or other political parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO."

While trying to compromise the ACTU-Communist split, Murray's traditional reliance on the use of facts and figures at the bargaining table, backed up by a strong, well disciplined union in the plant, has taken a beating. In January, 1946, his Steelworkers—as solid and determined a union as Murray could hope to direct—struck the steel industry. Four weeks later, still solid and determined, they won a wage increase of 18.5 cents an hour.

But Big Steel forced a price boost that, if business follows its present trend, will eat up the union's gains by necessitating higher retail prices. And in the elections of 1946 the Steelworkers, along with all other organized workers in the United States, were shown definitely that, solid as they might be, determined as they might be, they could not bargain successfully until they voted themselves political power. The destruction of price control and the passage of the Taft-Hartley bill have proved to Philip Murray that if the CIO won't protect itself with the vote, it will be legislated down to the condition that existed before 1936.

In the 1946 elections, the CIO Political Action Committee, which had been vital in the 1944 reëlection of Roosevelt, only went through the motions of activity. Political action, the word went in the CIO, was through, and the word came down implicitly if not literally from Philip Murray. For while Murray believes in a mild dose of labor in government to ensure minimum social legislation and a guarantee of union freedom, he also believes that political action must go no further. It must not, in particular, reach for the formulas of socialism, as Philip Murray must feel the Progressive Citizens of America did when it called recently for public ownership of the steel industry. And yet Murray himself might be forced to a view like PCA's if industry refuses to expand for peacetime work and Murray's steelworkers suffer in vast layoffs.

### *He can be stubborn*

SO Philip Murray, at the convention in Boston, confronts CIO delegates this week in perhaps the most crucial moment of his leadership. He wants, above all, to keep the CIO together. But to do so he must admit that the definition of forces inside the CIO, and the extreme tensions created by these forces, cannot be approached in the spirit of compromise. And though compromise comes easily to Murray, he has been hard and stubborn before as CIO president: he broke with John L. Lewis on the matter of supporting Roosevelt and eventually lost a man whose lieutenant he had been for 22 years and whom he sincerely loved; he faced up to Roosevelt and said that the CIO supported the anti-fascist international policy of FDR but would never submit to compulsory labor legislation; he stood on his feet at the labor-management conference in the White House late in 1945 and insisted over and over again that wages, wages, wages was the only issue worth discussing. Philip Murray, if he gets his back up, can lay the law down to the forces splitting the CIO apart.

### *Politics of the future*

AT the convention he must deal with another problem whose solution may cause him moments of turmoil and anguish. He must consider putting life back into the Political Action Committee. But if he does revitalize the PAC, he will have to realize that the CIO is on its way to the development of a political philosophy. It will no longer be a strict wages, hours and conditions-of-employment movement asking for social reforms, but will probably become the biggest single political element in the United States.

Whether cautious Phil Murray will choose to lead the CIO in a struggle of that nature will depend partly upon his own free will. But it will depend more upon the tactics of industry. For if industry goes all out openly to bust the CIO, there is no doubt that the old trade-union sense of Philip Murray will be outraged. And he will fight back hard, with whatever weapons are needed to defeat "the arrogant, greedy" men he has been battling ever since he stood beside his father 55 years ago and heard that the miners had "won"—$1.65 a day!

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# "These People Really Like Us"

by Walter L. Briggs

## *That's just one of the old excuses for colonialism still being made by the Dutch in the Indies and by the French in Indo-China*

BATAVIA, JAVA.—The Dutch harbor master from Balikpapah gesticulated vehemently. "It's not fair!" he insisted. "The Security Council interferes in our Indonesian troubles but lets France alone in Indo-China. Yet everybody knows there's no comparison between our efforts to give the Indonesians a reasonable independence and France's imperialism."

A few weeks earlier a French functionary in Saigon had nodded gravely. "Yes, we've made a few mistakes here," he admitted. "But how can the world criticize us in Indo-China? The Dutch are starting a war in the Indies! Here, at least, Viet Nam attacked first."

Identical excuses have become the gobbledygook of the colonial administrations in both Indo-China and the Indies. Listening first to the Dutch and then to the French is like hearing a cracked phonograph record. In fact, you first heard it years ago among the bankers on Calcutta's Clive Street and civil-service officers in Mandalay. The British meanwhile have changed the tune, but the Dutch and French are still singing words of rationalization to the old melody of imperialism. The major identical arguments of the French and Dutch colonists, and the facts that they ignore, follow.

*Walter L. Briggs, a former war correspondent in China and India for the United Press, is now touring the Far East as a free-lance roving reporter.*

*These people (the Vietnamese and Indonesians) are incapable of governing themselves.*

Hitler similarly indicted Holland and France in justifying the Nazi occupations. Since neither the Dutch nor French accept the relevance of this answer, however, let us consider Siam.

That tropical kingdom is the only independent country in Southeast Asia (excluding the Philippines on the fringe). It is also the best off. The Siamese eat well, dress adequately, live comfortably and don't fear jail—or worse—without charge or trial. And the Siamese government, although it has its attendant maladministration, is so democratic that critical parliamentary sessions are broadcast, a procedure our Congress has carefully avoided.

Holland's and France's native charges should certainly be as capable of governing themselves as are the Siamese—or as are most other peoples in this ineptly governed world. After all, the Papuans in New Guinea's Shangri-la interior, the Tibetans in their mountain fastnesses and other peoples more primitive than the Vietnamese or Indonesians (who, in fact, stand quite high on ethnology's Asiatic ladder), have managed themselves all right for a long time.

*Except for a few extremists, these people really like us.*

France's present-day hold on Indo-China consists, except for primitive and remote Laos and Cambodia, of only a few major cities and a few mined, shelled and sniped-at connecting roads, with intermediate garrisoned villages. The Vietnamese harass the French literally everywhere. The three provincial "puppet" governments established by the French receive approximately the popular support accorded our Prohibition Party.

Similarly, in many of the parts of Java and Sumatra into which Dutch troops have penetrated, they are meeting attack. And not only from across the "demarcation lines," but from behind—within the regions they claim to control. Meanwhile, the Dutch are finding it almost impossible to get former Republican officials, even at the village level, to accept posts under them. The natives who remained for the Dutch occupation generally are sullen, although there are exceptions, especially where the Dutch are passing out cheap textiles in areas formerly denied clothing by the Dutch commodity blockade.

*Look what we've done for this country.*

Both the Dutch and the French have helped build attractive cities with fine homes, shops, cafés and streets; some railroads, irrigation projects and highways; even a university or two. But most of the luxury is for the Westerners, while the engineering improvements serve especially to feed their laborers (to keep production moving) and haul their goods. For most natives there have been no schools to teach reading and writing, no medicines to cure disease, no ballot boxes to register the popular will. But there have been enough censors for the newspapers, policemen for the soapboxers and jails for the recalcitrants.

*We must protect the minorities.*

One of the sparks touching off Viet Nam's December offensive was the republic's discovery that French officers had gone to the hills to rile up Thai, Nung, Tho and other tribesmen against it. The Viet Nam government has not persecuted minorities. The Viet Nam constitution specifically protects minority rights.

In the wide sweep of the Indies

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many minorities disdain the predominantly Javanese republic, desiring independent governments of their own. The Dutch have capitalized on this feeling; even within the territory claimed by the republic they have seized every opportunity to promote splinter groups, characterized as "minorities," to statehood. But the figure-head states have little autonomy or democracy, and serve mainly to weaken the republic the Dutch are opposing.

The Dutch argue that the Chinese must be protected from the Indonesians' murdering and pillaging. It is true that the Indonesians' treatment of the Chinese—who are the middlemen, black marketeers, hoarders and moneylenders of the Indies—has been disgraceful. On the other hand, this is the first time the Dutch ever have become exercised about Chinese welfare. Generally, the Chinese are maligned by the Dutch for their too successful economic competition.

*If we leave, some other power will move in.*

From the time the first Britisher set foot in India, Britain remained there, it was argued, to save the Indians, at various times, from the encroachments of Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and Russia. The current French bogies are China and Russia. The Chinese will take over, even the highest officials declare, by pouring down over the border. Or Russia will do it by remote control. The Dutch are currently passing the word around that the British Empire (particularly Australia) and the United States are the threats.

To a naïve bystander, however, it appears that the Chinese are rather busy with their own problems and that the British and Americans subscribe to ideals (in this modern age) which would force them to frown on such activities. As for the Russians—the only ones I've seen in all of Southeast Asia were a couple of Latvians who had donned Buddhist robes and were stirring up religious controversy in Bangkok.

*These so-called republics are Communist-dominated.*

Several high-ranking Vietnamese, including President Ho Chi-minh, have been indisputably identified with Stalinism. Whether they still are affiliated with *any* Marxist group, they don't reveal, but several have criticized Russia for refraining (probably because of the French Communist Party's delicate position) from lending even public sympathy to their cause. Furthermore, it is evident from their actions that Indo-Chinese leaders have given first place (if there is more than one) to attaining independence; their present governmental measures reflect not communism but reasonable attempts to achieve quickly what the French have left so long undone.

Ho, incidentally, was a "reasonable man, not above compromising," while the French were negotiating with him in 1946. But when sufficient French troops had arrived to give French officials a feeling of power, they suddenly discovered that Ho was a "dangerous radical . . . a tool of Moscow."

The Dutch were late catching up with the Communist threat. They slept on it, in fact, until President Truman announced his "Stop Russia" campaign. Many Indonesian leaders overnight became Communists, with hordes of sympathizers. One Dutch official in Surabaya showed me Indonesian posters designed to spur the people toward freedom. One pictured a thin, ragged, woebegone Indonesian pulling a cart piled high with money bags, a fat white man (most certainly a Dutchman) squatting atop. "Communist propaganda!" the official declared.

*These independence movements are Jap-inspired and wouldn't have occurred except for the war.*

There is a breath of truth in this argument. The Japanese certainly did speed these people on their way—by the example of their initial victories over the Allies, by turning over some arms to the Republicans, by their "Asia for the Asiatics" slogan, by

Drawing by Don Kingman

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propaganda which deepened hatred against the whites.

But the French hounded Ho over much of the world for 25 years before Pearl Harbor. There's a saying among Vietnamese that, aside from Ho, nobody rates in the Viet Nam government who hasn't served a term at Poulo Condore, Indo-China's Devil's Island. In the Indies, President Soekarno and many other Republican leaders have graduated from jails or exile. These leaders epitomize the rumbling revolt, often flaring into overt incidents, that has been the rule in the East ever since Japan whaled Russia in 1905 and demonstrated to the Asiatics that the white man was not invincible.

*They're using Jap troops against us.*

A fact. A few Japanese remain with the armies of each republic. And with their military know-how they have contributed notably to the republics' resistance. But while condemning this, the colonists seem to forget that:

1. The British employed Japanese troops in attempting to "clean up" Cochin China of native revolutionaries before allowing the French to return. And the French now are using about 9,000 Germans, former members of the Afrika Korps, in their Foreign Legion.

2. The British also used Japanese troops in the Indies before the Dutch returned. Furthermore, the Dutch now are campaigning with Christianized Ambonese, cruel and efficient fighters (much like India's Gurkhas) who are just as much an anathema to the predominantly Moslem Indonesians as, say, the Storm Troopers were to Holland.

*They are ruthless terrorists.*

Both the Vietnamese and Indonesians burn colonists' estates, destroy crops, mine roads and dynamite bridges; with our wartime allies China and Russia, we dignified such practices as "scorched earth." The Vietnamese and Indonesians fall upon French and Dutch sentries in the night; elsewhere, that's called "guerrilla warfare." They prosecute enemies, including fellow countrymen, within their midst; in Spain this was described for the first time as "eliminating the fifth column."

*They can't control their armies.*

Viet Nam's government on-the-move is located in Tonkin's deep interior. Yet the Vietnamese, despite poor communications, are waging a fierce and coördinated fight almost 1,000 miles south in Cochin China.

In the Indies, the Dutch reiteration that "armed gangs" refuse to obey the republic's orders appears to be largely conjectural. But if there is some lack of liaison, it is understandable: the republic has few radios and many of its overland communication lines are pierced by Dutch-army wedges.

*They run their government inefficiently, undemocratically and corruptly.*

If the Vietnamese and Indonesian governments were paragons they would be history-defying. Both states constantly are subject to attack from military forces with superior equipment, and the Indonesians also suffer from a naval blockade which prevents any semblance of normal international trade. Yet each government is a going concern.

There has never been a general election under French or Dutch rule. The Vietnamese already have held one, electing their first legislature. Disturbed by war, the Indonesians have not had the opportunity, but plan one when peace comes.

The Viet Nam government has adopted a constitution defining civil liberties, established courts, observably increased literacy, issued currency and stamps, introduced democratic procedures in the villages and initiated agricultural reforms. The Indonesian republic has proceeded on parallel lines. Even Dr. P. J. Koets, right-hand man to the emotionally embittered Lieutenant Governor General, Dr. Hubertus J. van Mook, after a visit to the interior reported: "The picture in general is of a society consolidating itself, and not in the course of dissolution. . . . What struck me was the quiet and peacefulness."

*These people don't live up to their agreements.*

In Indo-China, to name only a few breaches, the French failed to keep their written promise to hold a referendum to determine the status (in or outside Viet Nam) of Cochin China, to limit the number of their troops and inform Viet Nam of their movements and to share with Viet Nam control of customs. Viet Nam eventually went to war.

In the Indies, the republic, called upon constantly to make compromises at critical times in negotiations, gave up point after point right up to the eve of the "police action." Yet the Dutch attacked the Indonesians in direct violation of article 17 (b) of the Cheribon agreement: "The Netherlands government and the government of the Republic shall settle by arbitration any dispute which might arise from this agreement and which cannot be solved by joint consultation. . . ."

An interesting and rather sad commentary on the Dutch and French colonists is the blind way they leech onto the arguments I have listed. The same excuses appear time after time in speeches by Dr. van Mook and French High Commissioner Emile Bollaert, in official radio commentaries, in the Dutch and French colonial press. Even more incriminating, they are believed and repeated by the average colonist. The effect is similar to that of Hitler's pontifications on the master race, or of the Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith's rantings against the Jews.

One reason for the acceptance of rationalizations by Frenchmen and Dutchmen who are often otherwise estimable citizens, may be their inability in the East to see themselves as others see them. Some time during conversations with the more sensitive of my French and Dutch friends I try to ask: "Is there any moral difference between Germany's occupation of your homeland and your occupation of this colony?"

"Well, uh . . . hmmm . . . well . . ." my friend usually replies. "But you forget—this is not a moral world."

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# HIGH PRICES:

## Should We Restore Price Control?

High prices are attacking the homes of Americans today; cutting into basic needs of clothing, food and fuel; prolonging shortages of low-cost housing; bringing depression closer.

High prices are forcing city families on relief to live on two-thirds of minimum food needs. New York City's Hospital Commissioner, Dr. Edward Bernecker, reports that if "the present trends of living costs continue, there is grave danger that the health of large segments of our population will deteriorate." He predicts a rapid rise in our hospital patients this winter, reflecting "a definite increase in the rate of illness in a population weakened by malnutrition."

Our high prices are a world problem. The supplies planned for peoples far hungrier than Americans have been cut by a third and more by rising prices.

*Our wholesale prices, up 36 percent in 14 months, are rising at the rate of three percent a month today.*

Yet we're producing as much as ever. Are we really worse off? And if we are worse off, are high prices beyond the power of our democracy to control? Can we get by with voluntary methods; or, if price control is necessary, is it too late to bring price control back?

Can we do much more than guess at the answers? A year ago those who killed price control guessed that production would rise rapidly and push prices down. They guessed wrong. Production rose by only seven percent in the 14 months after June, 1946, when the OPA was destroyed.

The *New Republic* called for continued price controls in June, 1946. We weren't sure where we stood a month ago, when we started this inquiry. We've laid out the facts in the pages that follow. We've offered as many of the answers as we can find. No one has all the answers. We wanted enough to know what is needed today.

This is no time for complacency or indecision. We can't guess wrong again. We made a first-class blunder in 1946 when we let Congress kill price controls. It was a costly blunder for ourselves and all peoples; the kind of blunder that our democracy can afford once, but not twice in a row.

ANOTHER NEW REPUBLIC REPORT ON NATIONAL POLICY

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# WHEN PRICE CONTROLS ARE KILLED:

From 1941 through 1945 we fought in war. We sent 14 million Americans from farms and factories to the battlefronts. Forty-five of every 100 Americans who worked in wartime, worked for the battlefronts. But we suffered no losses in living standards. Through price control we shared what we had. We held price increases to 35 percent in the seven tough years from August, 1939, to July, 1946.

In June, 1946, powerful groups working through a coalition in Congress, killed price controls. Here's the result:

## Wholesale Prices Rise

In the six war years, August 1939, to September, 1945, wholesale prices rose by 41 percent. In the 13 months of peace, after June, 1946,

**ALL GOODS ..... rose 34%**
**FOODS ..... rose 48%**
**NON-FOODS ..... rose 26%**

Wholesale prices rise fastest for a time. Then retailers pass the price increases along to consumers.

High wholesale prices direct materials into the most expensive and profitable lines. They choke off production of cheap cars, radios, washing machines, clothes, furniture and low-cost housing. These products are basic necessities for Americans. Their prices and production are determined partly by the costs of the materials listed below. Here's what happened to the wholesale price of these basic materials from June, 1946, to, August, 1947:

**LEATHER PRODUCTS ..... rose 46%**
**TEXTILE PRODUCTS ..... rose 28%**
**FUEL AND ELECTRICITY ..... rose 24%**
**METALS AND METAL PRODUCTS... rose 28%**
**BUILDING MATERIALS..... rose 35%**
**CHEMICALS AND DRUGS ..... rose 23%**

## The Cost of Living Rises

The cost of living is way up since May, 1943, when the German armies were unbeaten and Japan held the Pacific. Seventy percent of the increase in the cost of living between May, 1943, and August, 1947, took place in the 13 months *after* June, 1946, when the OPA was destroyed. Between June, 1946, and August, 1947:

**FOOD PRICES..... rose 33%**
**CLOTHING PRICES ..... rose 17%**

Only rents were still controlled and:

**RENTS ..... rose 1.4%**

Between June, 1946, and September, 1947, in New York:

**MEAT ..... rose from 46c to 59c per lb.**
**EGGS ..... rose from 49c to 77c per doz.**
**MILK ..... rose from 16c to 21c per qt.**
**BUTTER ..... rose from 68c to 87c per lb.**

## Profits Rise

Compare the first six months of 1946, when prices were controlled, with the same period this year. For America's 377 largest corporations:

**PROFITS AFTER TAXES are up 110%**

A record year itself, 1946 was far above 1929 when an unstable boom led to years of depression. Here are the profits after taxes of all corporations for those years:

**1929... $8.4 billion or 5.2% of net worth**
**1946... $12.5 billion or 7.8% of net worth**
**1947... $17.4 billion or 10.6% of net worth (annual rate)**

Here is the return on net worth for America's leading corporations so far this year, by industrial groups:

**FOOD PRODUCTS ..... 21%**
**BREWING AND DISTILLING..... 25%**
**PULP and PAPER PRODUCTS..... 23%**
**AUTOMOBILES and TRUCKS..... 21%**
**TEXTILES and APPAREL..... 19%**

This summer US Steel Corporation officials told the President's Economic Advisory Council that "United States Steel's profits were not satisfactory and had in recent years been definitely subnormal."

US Steel's profits after taxes were $88,683,530 in 1946; for the first half of 1947, they were $68,571,000.

## Wages Try to Keep Up

During the war, America reached full employment. Wage earners worked longer hours, were paid overtime rates. Temporary unemployment declined and disappeared. There were the "no-strike" pledge and the "Little Steel" formula, whereby wage rates were adjusted to the cost of living. But during the summer of 1945, when the end of the war was in sight, the American industrial machine hesitated. Labor knew that the days of overtime pay and plenty of jobs were numbered. By the end of 1945, although the expected unemployment had not developed, American workers were taking home less pay. The first six months of 1946 saw a wave of strikes. Labor was fighting to get back what had been lost in the months following V-J Day. Prices were still under the OPA, but political rumblings forecast its

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early death. When, as predicted, the lid blew off, the American laborer had to struggle to keep up with the skyrocketing cost of living.

The average weekly earnings of various groups of workers were as follows:

| | Prewar 1941 | War High | Dec. 1945 | End of OPA | Present |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| STEEL | $37 | $56 | $47 | $47 | $55 |
| AUTOS | $41 | $59 | $44 | $49 | $56 |
| CLOTHING | $21 | $34 | $32 | $35 | $37 |
| ALL MFG. | $30 | $48 | $41 | $43 | $49 |

The average weekly wages of all manufacturing workers are now only 3.8 percent above the wartime high, and only 14 percent above the level at the end of the OPA. Steel and auto workers are still earning less per week than they did at the wartime peak.

## Living Standards Fall

There's nothing wrong with rising prices if all incomes keep up. We produce the same volume of goods and if we distribute our goods in the same way, no one suffers from high prices.

But high prices shift the distribution of our goods. High prices mean less goods for small farmers, more goods for rich farmers, whose costs are low. High prices mean trouble for small manufacturers and retailers, record profits for large corporations which hold huge stocks, and for monopolies whose prices rise fastest. High prices mean less goods for workers, more for speculators. Pensioners, civil servants, teachers and other fixed-income groups suffer most of all.

High prices are a form of rationing. They are perhaps the most effective way of cutting the consumption of scarce commodities. With prices at a level where the forces of supply and demand push them, there are no black markets.

High prices are also the most unfair method of rationing. Under government controls, scarce foods such as milk, meat and grain are controlled, with priorities going to the armed forces, growing children and the starving men and women of the devastated areas. Under inflationary prices, the only priority is given to those with ready cash.

When prices rise rapidly, wages fail to keep up. Here is the change in the real weekly earnings of Americans, between June, 1946, and July, 1947:

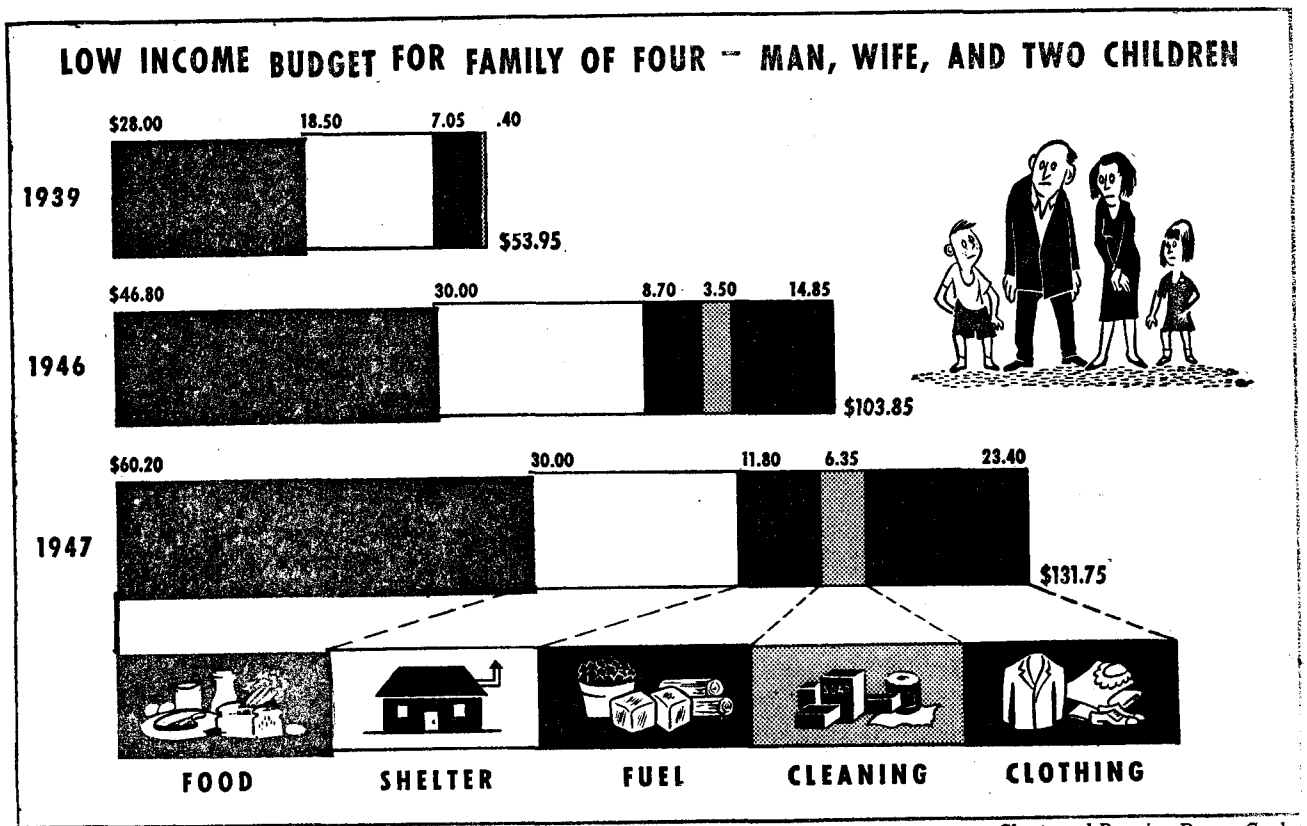
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ALL MANUFACTURING GROUPS | down | 3.3% |
| WHOLESALE TRADE | down | 6.3% |
| RETAIL TRADE | down | 3.2% |
| CONSTRUCTION | down | 3.7% |
| BITUMINOUS COAL | down | 11.7% |

## The Low Income Groups Suffer Most

The estimates of real earnings we have quoted are derived from the Bureau of Labor Statistics index. This index, prepared for middle-income groups; does not tell the whole story. For low-income groups, food, clothing and bare necessities form a higher proportion of all expenses than the bureau's index allows for. And these necessities have risen most in price.

The budget that we show below suggests that for low-income groups the cost of living has risen 30 to 35 percent in the past 16 months.

It's a rise that America can't afford. Making no allow-




*Source: N. Y. City Dept. of Welfare*

*Charts and Drawing Ramon Gordon*

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ance for insurance, medical care, school expenses, newspapers, telephone calls, carfare, work expenses, taxes, furniture replacements or recreation, the New York Budget Council found that in April, 1947, a family on relief needed $154.60 a month to live. The average monthly earnings of the American worker today are about $196.

# WHY PRICES RISE:

**Remember back in June, 1946? Production was going to rise rapidly, prices would "quickly adjust themselves," all Americans would enjoy unparalleled abundance — as soon as the OPA was destroyed. Every American housewife knows better today. So the men who killed price control have worked up a new story: it's all someone else's fault; it's because foreigners are taking our goods; it's because the unions won exorbitant wage increases; it's because of Truman. What's the truth?**

## Do Exports Compel High Prices?

The answer is no. Net exports today are only five percent of our total production. When prices had leveled off early in 1947, net exports were rising rapidly. Now net exports are falling and prices are again advancing.

It's true that, between June, 1946, and June, 1947, America shipped overseas four million tons of corn, oats, barley and sorghum, that could have been fed to our livestock. These exports may have reduced our output of meat, poultry and dairy products. But our largest price increases are not due to exports. From May, 1946, to May, 1947, we exported:

**2.2% of our MEAT—**
**yet wholesale prices increased 83%**
**.4% of our BUTTER—**
**yet wholesale prices increased 29%**
**3.5% of our CORN—**
**yet prices advanced 28%**

If we'd cut off all meat exports, every American family would have had one roast more last year. And meat prices would still have soared.

Overseas demand does contribute to the general unbalance of supply and demand in America. Government purchases do send grain futures up. *But exports do not make tremendously increased food prices necessary.*

## Do Unions Compel High Prices?

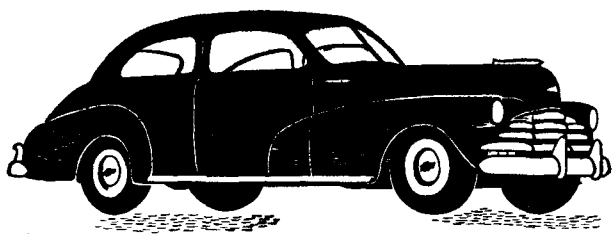
The answer is no. Comparing the first half of 1945 with the first half of 1947:

**PAY ROLLS per unit of factory output have risen 17%**
**PRICES per unit of factory output have risen 39%**
**PROFITS per unit of factory output have risen 50% before taxes and 142% after taxes.**

On the basis of the prewar ratio of factory wages to manufacturers' selling prices, the 17-percent increase in wage costs per unit given above could have been absorbed by a four-percent increase in manufacturers' prices.

The OPA studied these industries: petroleum, food, hides and leather, iron and steel, textiles, farm implements, paper and pulp, lumber, cement, chemicals, bricks and tile, furniture, bituminous coal and anthracite. The OPA found that for these industries prices rose 18 percent from January, 1945, to June 30, 1946. A price rise of 2.5 percent would have covered the cost of wage increases.

The case of Chevrolet illustrates that wage increases won by an aggressive and highly organized union do not compel price rises.



**FACTORY PRICE.....Sept. 1941....$ 895.**
**Sept. 1946.... 1194.**
**Sept. 1947.... 1345.**

Did wage increases force this price rise? Both wages and prices rose between 1946 and 1947. But for every dollar earned by General Motors, 36 cents went to wages in the second quarter of 1946, *and only 31 cents went to wages in the same period in 1947.*

On July 29, 1947, GM announced that profits for the second quarter of 1947 were $82 million. This amounted to 21 percent of invested capital, one of the highest rates in the corporation's history.

On August 1, 1947, GM announced that further price increases were necessary to offset higher wage and material costs.

The higher wages had been in force through most of the second quarter of 1947. Chevrolet prices, according to Walter Reuther, could have been cut $200 had GM been content with an eight percent return on its net worth.

## Are Farmers Forcing Food Prices Up?

The answer is no. The farmers of America are producing at a record rate. The prices they receive for such commodities as grain and meat are at or near all-time highs. But the farmer's costs have also gone up. He pays three times as much as prewar for farm labor; farm implements cost him 30 percent more. Still he is better off than prewar.

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The gains are not evenly distributed. The big farmer is in a considerably better position than the small farmer. Who is getting the big slice?

Here are the 1946 profits after taxes of the dairy-products distributors:

**BORDEN COMPANY**
**$19.6 million or 16.3% of net worth**
**NATIONAL DAIRY PRODUCTS**
**$26 million or 20% of net worth**

Here are the figures on meat. The livestock raisers are paying 180 percent more for feed, three times the prewar labor costs, and about 30 percent more for equipment. Yet the prices paid to livestock raisers have increased far more than costs. Here are the prices paid to raisers for 100 pounds of livestock:

| | 1935-39 | 1946 | July 1947 |
|---|---|---|---|
| BEEF ..... | $6.56 | $13.80 | $19.80 |
| LAMB ..... | $7.79 | $14.30 | $21.10 |

Once again, the meat packers are increasing their share of the meat dollar, cutting the farmer's share back from 77 cents in March, 1946, to 71 cents today. Here are the packers' profits in 1946:

**ARMOUR .. $21 million or 10.9% of net worth**
**SWIFT ..... $16.4 million or 6.1% of net worth**
**WILSON ... $8.3 million or 11.3% of net worth**

In each case, the 1946 profit represented a considerable gain over 1945: Armour was up 126 percent, Swift 33 percent and Wilson 65 percent.

Food profits are way up; so are the profits of food distributors. Here are the profits after taxes of three companies in 1946:

**AMERICAN STORES COMPANY**
**$8.3 million or 23.3% of net worth**
**A & P**
**$30.2 million or 16.2% of net worth**
**SAFEWAY STORES**
**$11.4 million or 15.9% of net worth**

It must be remembered that the farmer, taking food commodities as a whole, receives only 52 percent of the retail price. On such items as canned goods, he receives less than 20 percent of the final retail price.

### Do High Taxes Compel High Prices?

The answer is no. The Republican Party has called for tax reduction as a means of lowering prices. Actually reducing taxes would raise prices.

Corporations do not raise prices in order to pay taxes. Taxes are on gross profits and the enactment of more taxes, such as an excess-profits tax, would lower prices because the incentive to increase prices in order to increase profits would no longer be as strong.

### Why Prices Rise

By now it should be clear, prices have risen because it pays to raise prices. Continuing shortages, and continuing high demands have made it possible, and profitable, for manufacturers, food distributors and primary producers to get more for their products.

Today Americans are struggling to maintain the living standards established during war years. It should be easy, with 11 million out of service and millions freed from arms production. But production is barely rising, and without price control Americans are bidding against each other.

Their increased incomes are siphoned off in profits. But no purpose is served by profits three and four times the normal return needed by business. Instead of guaranteeing future employment, these profits are increasing instability and guaranteeing depression.

# IF WE DO NOTHING:

**The men who said there wouldn't be inflation after price controls were killed, say now that inflation has passed its peak. They may be right. The price and profit structure is so crazy today that a break must come. Already many Americans in the lower half of the income scale have exhausted their savings and are on the verge of going into debt. Soon purchases may fall and unemployment rise. But supposing these men are wrong. Remember what happened in Germany and Hungary when inflation won? Democracy lost. Our democracy can't afford to make another blunder like the blunder of June, 1946. Here are the inflationary factors we'd better consider:**

### The Marshall Plan

The Marshall program is not intended to increase America's net exports to Europe but to prevent them falling sharply below present levels. Yet its effect may be inflationary in 1948.

Net exports have been running at the rate of $15 billion a year, and without aid must fall to about $4 billion next year as Europe runs out of her last dollar and gold reserves. The aid called for by the European governments coöperating in the Marshall Plan amounts to $5.6 billion from the United States and another $920 million from the World

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Bank in 1948. If this much aid is granted, and even this is a bare minimum in terms of need, America's net exports will be below the levels of early 1947 but above present rates. Our economy can easily absorb the requirements of the Marshall Plan, but key shortages will emerge in steel, rolling stock, nitrates, machinery, food, feed and other products. Rising prices of these goods will spread to other products in the absence of controls.

### New Wage Demands

If present trends continue, trade unions are certain to demand new wage increases.

The CIO Textile Workers are after a 15-cent-an-hour wage increase. The CIO packing house workers and the automobile workers have stated that they will make new wage demands unless prices are reduced. Leaders of railway trainmen, rubber workers, shipyard workers are seeking wage increases. Special wage conferences, in advance of the reopening of contracts next year, will be forced by rank and file pressure alone if prices continue to rise. Some strikes will follow. In most cases, if there are no controls, management will give in and pass on all of the increased costs to consumers. Once again prices will rise more than costs justify, as consumers bid against one another.

### Key Shortages

Shortages are inevitable during the next 12 months.

Less corn this summer—our corn crop was cut one fourth by drought—means less meat next year. After heavy marketing this winter, because of high feed prices, beef and pork will be scarce next summer and autumn. That means pressure on meat prices.

High feed costs this summer mean less poultry and fewer eggs next year, and pressure on prices. Already storage stocks are 50 percent below last year's levels.

The Marshall program means less available steel and grain. A rise in steel prices spreads through all consumers' durable goods just as a rise in grain prices spreads through all foods. Another bottleneck will be railway cars. Increased transportation rates will tend to raise all prices.

Capital investment is rising rapidly in key industries, including building. That means shortages in materials and pressures on prices because demand is still years ahead of supply.

### Weather

Runaway inflation was prevented this year by record yields in all crops but corn. The government is gambling on equal yields next year. But frost this October, poor soil conditions or drought next summer can wreck our price structure and the margin allowed for export. We can't cut off exports, and we can't afford to gamble. Weather, beyond our control, can shift every crop yield by a sixth or more. It can fail in a few weeks, and months are necessary to establish controls.

### Profiteering

Profiteering has been a major reason for price rises so far. Grain futures in particular have been forced up by speculation. President Truman reported on October 5 that "90 percent of all accounts in a recent corn futures market were . . . speculative. Trading in wheat futures rose 75 percent in September, compared with August. In a single month on one exchange almost half the year's crop was . . . just plain gambled."

"The cost of living," the President added, "must not be a football to be kicked around by gamblers." But it is. Normally, gains and losses balance out. But, given the inflationary forces operating now and in 1948, speculators who gamble on higher prices can't lose.

## WHY VOLUNTARY CONTROLS WILL FAIL:

"The situation in Europe is grim and forbidding . . . hunger is a stark reality . . . the nations of Western Europe . . . cannot get through the coming winter and spring without help — generous help . . . If the peace should be lost because Americans failed to share their food with hungry people, there would be no more tragic example in all history . . ." That was the wind-up in President Truman's speech on October 4, 1947. Here is the pitch: "The voluntary program is the best way for us to do the job . . . Self control is the best control." — Well, is it?

### I. Voluntary Food Conservation

The President's program does not reduce prices or prevent prices from rising; it is a voluntary conservation program to increase grain exports. We have:

**1,500 million bushels of wheat available, of which**
**510 million is used for our own food use.**
**Of the remaining**
**990 million, the government proposes now to buy**
**400 million for export and to try to save an additional**
**100 million from all sources for export use.**

The President's program is an attempt to save this 100 million bushels by voluntary means.

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It is a weak and timid program, unsatisfactory for these reasons:

**The goals are inadequate.**

Its goal of an additional 100 bushels of wheat is at least 100 million bushels less than the goals we can and should achieve. It leaves 350 million bushels for feed, about two and a half times as much as in prewar years.

One bushel of grain fed to livestock yields one-seventh (and in "heavy" feeding, one-twentieth) of the food calories that the grain yields when used for human consumption. If Europe is starving, we have no right to waste grain in animal feeding.

**The methods are inadequate.**

*The consumers' program* rejects all the experience of the war and returns to 1917, when *in wartime* America saved 125 million bushels of grain by voluntary methods.

*The farmers' program,* whereby far the greatest savings are hoped for, is an evasion. It undertakes to prevent heavy feeding, which is highly profitable despite its enormous waste. All our experience indicates that the burden it imposes on individual coöperation is far too great.

*The industry program* is inadequate. The European food crisis is not a 60-day emergency, as the distillers "holiday" suggests. It's going to continue. And when distillers replenish their stocks, we'll be no better off. Besides, the liquor industry used only 93,000 bushels of wheat last year.

**The program is inadequate.**

It does nothing to prevent meat prices rising or to prevent the channeling of grain into high-priced, high-profit uses. It offers no security to farmers against the crash and the foreclosures that must follow further inflation.

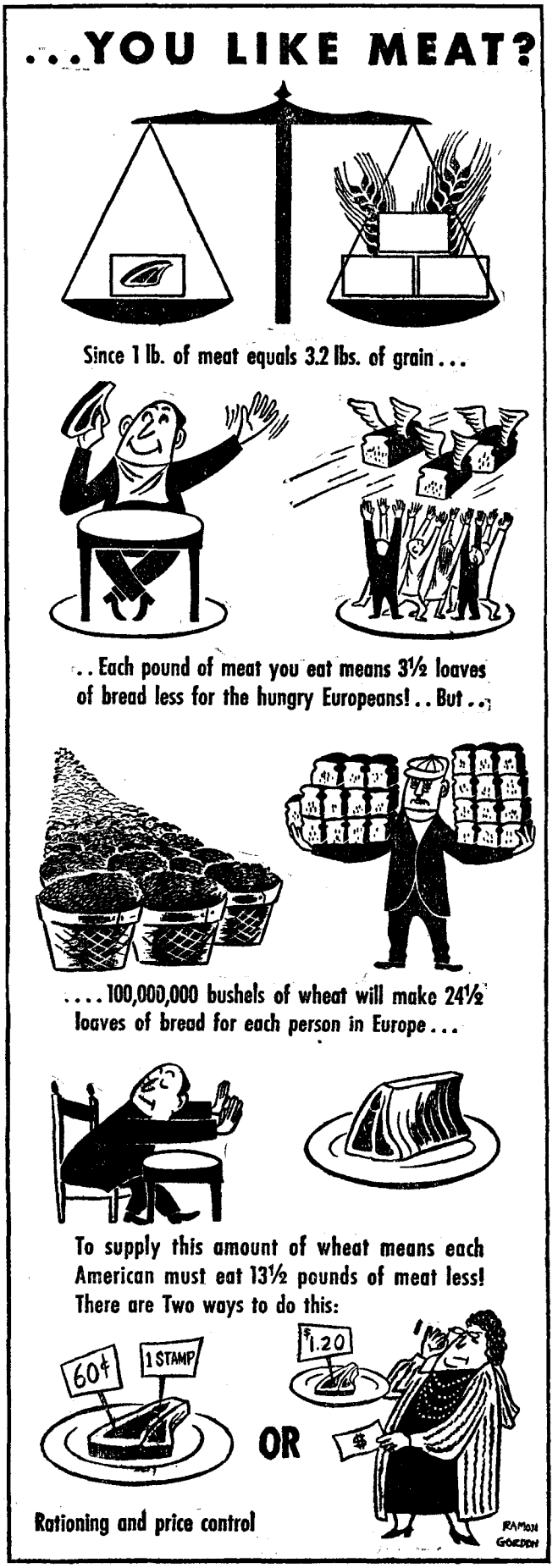
Certainly we must coöperate fully in the President's program. We must at the same time realize that in late 1947 voluntary methods alone are going to fail.

## II. Selective Controls

There is a further step, short of over-all price control: that is, the enactment of selective controls. The argument here is that 1947 is not wartime, with the severe shortages and the tremendous buying power that wartime industries create. The problem now is the dislocation caused by a few shortages in key industries, which are best tackled in individual ways such as these:

**100% grain margins.**
**Allocations of grain and steel supplies only.**
**Pressure for steel plant expansion and low-cost housing.**
**Excess-profits taxes.**
**Extension of rent controls.**

Some of these measures are obviously desirable. Taken together, they are still not enough. With nothing more than this, the inflationary forces we have listed—the Marshall Plan, wage increases, shortages in food products, new construction—may still lead to unnecessary but inevitable price rises above today's intolerable levels.


...YOU LIKE MEAT?
Since 1 lb. of meat equals 3.2 lbs. of grain...
..Each pound of meat you eat means 3½ loaves of bread less for the hungry Europeans!..But...
....100,000,000 bushels of wheat will make 24½ loaves of bread for each person in Europe...
To supply this amount of wheat means each American must eat 13½ pounds of meat less! There are Two ways to do this:
60¢
1 STAMP
OR
$1.20
Rationing and price control
RAMON GORDON

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# THE CASE FOR PRICE CONTROL:

It wasn't pleasant, filling out the ration forms, waiting in the queues. There were lots of little irritations in wartime controls. We remember those controls as worse now because we identify them with the war and all its heartaches. But, any time, sharing is better than going without, and making others go without. Nineteen forty-eight may be a year of falling prices and growing unemployment. It may bring runaway inflation. Both extremes are possible. Both are avoidable. It takes about three months to set up price control and rationing. We can wait until disaster strikes and then act.

Or we can act now to prevent a possible disaster. If we believe in the effectiveness of democracy, then we believe that what America must do, can be done.

### HERE IS A PROGRAM TO BRING PRICES UNDER CONTROL

**1. Enact a general price freeze.**

This means a special session of Congress to give the President powers to freeze prices such as he held under the Second War Powers Act. Immediately, the President could freeze prices. Within six weeks the general freeze could be implemented with price controls on specific commodities. Some commodities in which supplies are plentiful and prices are low could be unfrozen.

**2. Roll back key prices.**

The purpose of the rollback would be to lower the cost of living and make unnecessary coming wage demands. An analysis of profits by the Department of Commerce will indicate what rollbacks can and should be borne at the expense of profiteers. In other key items, basic in the cost of living, rollbacks could be followed by subsidies as required. A rollback in the cost of living—that is, a return to June, 1947, standards—would be a bare minimum. It would require price reductions of up to 20 percent on meat and eight percent on other basic foods. Subsidies on butter, milk, cheese, flour and meat would and could do the job.

**3. Impose direct controls.**

The best method is the simplest method. The government should buy up the livestock and grain supplies at the new ceiling prices. It would allocate these supplies, according to need; and at lower prices where necessary, the difference being made up by subsidies. The resale of grains and meats would be forbidden. In these ways the black market can be checked from the start.

Allocation of steel by the government, at ceiling prices, is necessary to any program of price reduction. Without steel allocations, shortages created by the Marshall Plan will force steel prices up, and with them the prices of many goods.

**4. Ration key products.**

Without rationing, price controls won't work; without price controls, rationing won't work. In both cases, the black market wins out. To prevent black-market operations, and to share equally goods that are scarce but vital to Americans, we will need rationing. We'll need rationing on meat, butter and maybe bread. In these next months the voluntary controls will need full support from wholesalers, retailers and consumers, who will see these controls as necessary to a larger program. The meat shortage will not be crucial until next March. If we prepare for rationing by December, we can prevent the complete disappearance of meat from the tables of working-class families.

Of course this isn't the whole story.

There are details that we haven't filled in: the curtailment of instalment buying; insistence on anti-trust actions against conspiracies to raise prices; a new bond campaign; consumers' action in the community to supplement action on a national scale.

The actions that we've proposed are the bare essentials necessary to meet this winter's hardships. If these controls are misguided or unnecessary, then we're wrong to demand them. If they're necessary but "politically unfeasible," we're not wrong—unless it's right to condemn millions of Americans to misery and millions of other peoples to starvation; or unless democracy is incapable of action when action is all-important. This is no time to shrug off our responsibilities. It's our Congress, and our government, subject to our will.

The measures we call for won't do the whole job. They will put scarce goods into the hands of those who need them most. They won't increase production of these goods —steel, food, low-cost housing. We need to allocate building materials to provide more low-cost housing. We need to increase capacity to meet our export needs and to keep Americans employed.

This is hard to face, but true. As half-hearted measures fail to come up to the level of the world's need and ours, it's going to be tempting to cut down our estimate of needs to the level of the present performance of our democracy. It won't work. The needs will remain. Only by raising the performance of our democracy to the level of our needs can we be secure.

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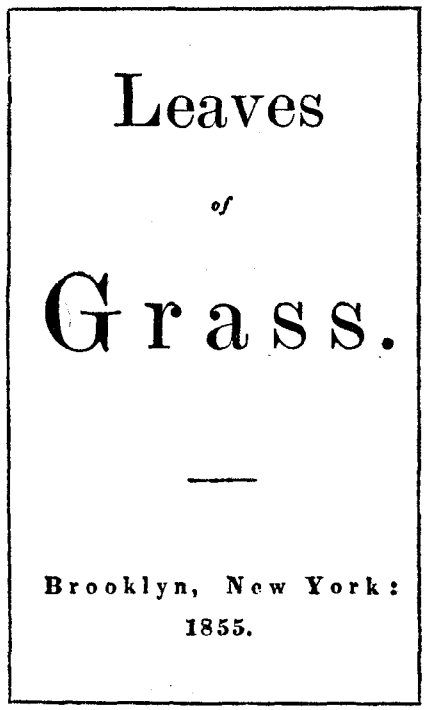
# Books in Review

## *Whitman: The Poet*

DATES are important in reading Whitman. There were three stages of his life—and, I think, only three—at which he wrote great poems.

The earliest stage, which lasted from 1855 to 1856, was the period of Whitman's miraculous flowering. It was the time when he wrote, or revised for publication, the 12 poems of the first edition and the 20 new poems that were added to his book the following year. Most of those in the first edition are among his best and all are examples of his boldest style, his freshest notations on the life he had always known. The "Song of Myself," which fills nearly half of this first volume, contains in germ almost everything else he would ever write. It is one of the great visionary poems of modern times. I don't know what to compare it with, except possibly Rimbaud's "Les Illuminations," though it also has qualities suggesting Blake in "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell" and others suggesting Nietzsche in "Thus Spake Zarathustra." There is nothing in American literature that in any way resembles it, except as a weak copy.

Some of the pure intensity of emotion that produced the first edition was carried over into the 20 new poems of the second, in 1856; but by then Whitman was less visionary and more calculating in his methods. If these new poems have one quality in common, it is that whether good or bad they are all inflated. One feels in reading them that Whitman had some kinship with the manufacturers and promoters of his busy era. Having created a new poetic personality—in the same way that a businessman might acquire a new invention—he was determined to exploit it and, as we can see from his notebooks, to produce more and bigger poems each year, like a thriving factory. Some of the 1856 poems are masterpieces, notably "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry" and the "Song of the Open Road"; but all of them, even the best, are padded out with lists of things seen or done, things merely read about, anatomical details and geographical names. Actually it wasn't until much later, but it might as well have been after reading this edition, that Emerson said between pauses to one of Whitman's friends, "Tell Walt I am not satisfied—not satisfied. I expect—him—to make—the songs of the Nation—but he seems—to be contented to—make the inventories."



Leaves

of

Grass.

Brooklyn, New York:
1855.

*Courtesy of New York Public Library*

TITLE PAGE, FIRST EDITION

THERE are few inventories in the great poems of his second period, which coincided with his emotional crisis of the years 1859-60. That was the time when Whitman wrote the "Calamus" poems, some of which are mere statements of belief, to be read as if they were prose. Not all of them are prose, however; for others are tender and secret and, in their twisted way, his only real love poems. The same years produced his two great despairing chants, "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life" and "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking." These, for Whitman, were the end of a long search. He had told us in the "Song of Myself" that he was looking for "a word unsaid" to express his world. Now at last he heard it, whispered by the sea, and it was not the word that such an expansive poet or his readers expected to hear—not "form" or "union" or "happiness" or "eternal life," but another word with a low and delicious music:

> Whereto answering the sea,
> Delaying not, hurrying not,
> Whisper'd me through the night, and very plainly before daybreak,
> Lisp'd to me the low and delicious word death,
> And again death, death, death, death.

At this ultimate point in exploring his mind, Whitman had found his two deepest longings, which were death and the womb of the mother-ocean; and he spoke of them in a tone of intense quiet, with a rightness that was lacking in his chants to democracy. The tone and the rightness were also lacking in the next poems he would publish. Like his first great period in 1855, this second period was followed by years in which his work was written more to a formula. "Drum-Taps," the section of his book that deals with the Civil War, has been overrated because of its subject matter. Most of the section is sentimental or bombastic, and it contains little of value except two or three vignettes of army life—good but inferior to his prose sketches in "Specimen Days"—and the fine "Wound-Dresser," in which, once again, he spoke candidly of himself.

THE third period when he wrote great poems—but very few of them—was the years he spent in government service from 1865 to 1873. By then his style had become mannered and verbose and vague—Whitmanian in the worst sense—and he was losing his interest in daily scenes and occupa-

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tions. He was trying to present, as he said, "no more the puzzling hour or day," but rather the lasting reality behind it: an experiment noble in purpose that has produced whole libraries of bad poetry. In Whitman's case it produced bad poems, too, full of scorn for the humble details that had given its rich texture to the "Song of Myself"; he now dismissed the details in a barbarous phrase as "the ostent evanescent"—in other words, as fleeting appearances. But in compensation for losing his sharp images and exact phrases, he had acquired another gift, for symphonic form. And his few great poems of the third period, from his dirge for Abraham Lincoln (1865) through "Proud Music of the Storm" and "A Passage to India" to "The Prayer of Columbus" (1874), which was his last ambitious work and the epilogue to his poetic career—all these are to be read for their interweaving of themes, for their orchestral effects, for their elevation of tone, but not by any means for richness of style or immediate, fresh visions of the poet's world.

It has become the convention among Whitman critics to describe the Lincoln dirge, "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," as the summit of his achievements and the one poem to be cast into bronze or chiseled into granite if all the rest of his work were to be destroyed. The judgment is based more, I think, on history and biography than it is on literature, properly speaking. There was a national crisis and a national hero, who died at the moment of victory; and the lament for his death by a national bard was a poem that *had* to be great, by the logic of historical circumstances. Or again, there was a foolish and boastful but enormously gifted poet who found himself at last, by engaging in unselfish war work, and who also found a spiritual father. When the father was killed, the poet, then at the height of his powers, *had* to write his best poem, by the logic of biography. But what if we read "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" simply as a poem, as an elegy that might have been sung for Charlemagne or the Cid or any other hero of budding legend? What if it had been written by a poet whose private life was unknown to us?

THE Lincoln dirge is impressive when submitted to these or any other tests. It sweeps us along on a wave of sustained emotion; it rises to a climax in the "death carol," which occurs at exactly the right place; and it shows symphonic power in its choice and interweaving of three themes or symbols: the evening star, the lilac and the hermit thrush. But for all the orchestral richness of its form, the freedom combined with a self-imposed discipline, there is something in the poem curiously generalized and conventional. Lincoln—is he really mourning Lincoln? The grief is personal, but it seems to have no personal object. The three master symbols, however, skillfully entwined, are rendered flat and toneless by the use in presenting them of phrases that leave no echo: there is only,

> The song, the wondrous chant of the gray-brown bird,
> And the tallying chant of the echo arous'd in my soul,
> With the lustrous and drooping star with the countenance full of woe,
> With the lilac tall, and its blossoms of mastering odor.

There is not one new or imaginative phrase, except perhaps "lustrous and drooping" as applied to the evening star. Everything else is old and colorless; and we find the same shopworn quality in passage after passage, including one in which the poet tries to give us "pictures of growing spring and farms and homes"—

> With the fresh, sweet herbage under foot, and the pale green leaves of the trees prolific,
> In the distance the flowing glaze, the breast of the river, with a winddapple here and there,
> With ranging hills on the banks, with many a line against the sky, and shadows,
> And the city at hand with dwellings so dense, and stacks of chimneys,
> And all the scenes of life and the workshops, and the workmen homeward returning.

In the "Song of Myself" a child had asked, "What is the grass?" holding out both hands full of it; and the poet had answered, "I guess it must be the flag of my disposition . . . or I guess it is the handkerchief of the Lord . . . bearing the owner's name someway in the corners. . . . And now it seems to me the beautiful uncut hair of graves." But here, in the Lincoln poem, the grass has become a formal symbol, a sort of ideogram; it is merely "the fresh, sweet herbage underfoot." And it is so with all the other images (except "flowing glaze," which is good for the surface of the river): the leaves are "pale green," the trees are "prolific," the hills are "ranging," the city dwellings are "so dense" and the workmen are "homeward returning"—everything is formalized and conventionalized, as if described from a series of Currier and Ives prints instead of from the scenes before the poet's eyes. We cannot help turning pages and comparing this lifeless landscape with

*Drawing by Lewis Daniel, Book-of-the-Month Club*

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*Courtesy New York Public Library*
WHITMAN IN 1855

the poet's invocation to the "voluptuous cool-breath'd earth" in the twenty-first chant of the "Song of Myself":

Earth of the slumbering and liquid trees!
Earth of departed sunset—earth of the mountains misty-topt!
Earth of the vitreous pour of the full moon just tinged with blue!
Earth of shine and dark mottling the tide of the river!
Earth of the limpid gray of clouds brighter and clearer for my sake!
Far-swooping elbow'd earth—rich apple-blossom'd earth!
Smile, for your lover comes.

In this earlier poem everything is copied from life, instead of from the lithographed copy of someone else's picture of life. More than that, everything has a life of its own. The trees are "slumbering and liquid," the full moon has a "vitreous pour," the river is mottled with "shine and dark," instead of light and darkness, and the earth—here he takes liberties with the language, but the right liberties—is addressed, is cajoled and courted, as "Far-swooping elbow'd earth—rich apple-blossom'd earth! Smile, for your lover comes." The last line would be intolerable in almost any other poet; but with Whitman, in that early mood, the rashness is permitted; for we feel that the earth *does* smile at him, that he *is* in reality her lover.

He loves everything, animate or inanimate, and proves his love by finding a phrase fresh from the heart to describe or invoke everything. It is in the early poems that we find his "splendid and savage old men," his "wing'd purposes," his "dumb, beautiful ministers," his prayer to the sea: "rock me in billowy drowse," his "night of the large few stars"—phrases each of which has been used or echoed hundreds of times since he discovered them, yet they keep their newness in Whitman's lines. Heaven comes down to earth in those early poems, and he shows us "letters from God dropt in the street," or lets us hear the sound of "Three scythes at harvest whizzing in a row from three lusty angels with shirts bagg'd out at their waists." Everything is heard, is seen, is touched and finally embraced, as if it now existed for the first time. "Why, who makes much of a miracle?" the poet keeps exclaiming. "As to me I know of nothing else but miracles."

He calls us out of our houses: "Out of the dark confinement! out from behind the screen!" He takes us walking through the Manhattan streets; he says to us, "Listen!" and suddenly we hear,

The blab of the pave, tires of carts, sluff of boot-soles, talk of the promenaders,
The heavy omnibus, the driver with his interrogating thumb, the clank of the shod horses on the granite floor.

DRUM-TAPS
FIRST O SONGS FOR A PRELUDE
Fast O songs for a prelude,
Lightly strike on the stretch'd tympanum pulse and joy in my city,
How she led the rest to arms, how she gave the cue,
How at once with lithe limb unwasting a moment she sprang,
(O superb! O Manhattan, my own, my peerless!
O strongest you in the hour of danger, in crisis! O truer than steel!
How you sprang—how you threw off the costumes of peace with indifferent hand,
*Drawing by John Steuart Curry, Peter Pauper Press*

He shows us people at their daily occupations and finds the words to fix them forever in our minds: "Sparmakers in the spar-yard, the swarming row of well-grown apprentices. . . . The brisk short crackle of the steel driven slantingly into the pine, The butter-color'd chips flying off in great flakes and slivers."—"The Negro holds firmly the reins of his four horses, the block swags underneath on its tied-over chain, The Negro that drives the long dray of the stoneyard, steady and tall he stands pois'd on one leg on the string-piece."—"The carpenter dresses his plank, the tongue of his foreplane whistles its wild ascending lisp."—"The jour printer with gray head and gaunt jaws works at his case, He turns his quid of tobacco while his eyes blur with the manuscript." In those early days of his career as a poet, Whitman's eyes never blurred; he wandered everywhere, as he said, "afoot with my vision." He showed and still shows us "The swimmer naked in the swimming-bath, seen as he swims through the transparent green-shine, or lies with his face up and rolls silently to and fro in the heave of the water." He carries us with him out of the city, along the sand-brown Long Island roads. He lets us join him,

At he-festivals, with blackguard gibes, ironical license, bull-dances, drinking, laughter,
At the cider-mill tasting the sweets of the brown mash, sucking the juice through a straw,
At apple-peelings wanting kisses for all the red fruit I find.

He loves everybody and everything, identifies himself with everything and makes it all distinct in his early poems, where everything has its own life, down to the pismires building their nests and the leaves of sea-lettuce that lie wilting in the windrows left by the tide. There is an experience that I think most of us have had, usually in late adolescence: for a moment or at most a day our eyes were opened by some extreme emotion, usually love or the fear of imminent death, and suddenly the homely objects around us took on new shapes, became filled with life and wonder; everything was intensely *itself*, yet we were part of it. With Whitman that momentary experience seems to have lasted for months or years, until he had written

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the finest long poem of his century. He also, for a wonder, wrote great poems in his later periods; but the "Song of Myself" is his miracle.

SO MANY misconceptions about Whitman to be cleared away! The real but almost unknown poet was American, not by thesis or proclamation, but because he was born in America, absorbed it with his ears and eyes and gave back honestly what he heard and saw. He was democratic, not by his aberrant philosophy, but rather by inheritance from a family that belonged among the plain people; and he was a democrat, as it were, from below, feeling his brotherhood with the crippled and despised rather than with the healthy, average persons he later celebrated in his poems. He looked for companionship, not because he was grandly expansive by nature, but because he was wounded and alone. He presented a showman's mask to the world. He was a great poet behind the mask—not because he was wise, but because, at first, he was rash and unworldly enough to reveal the depths of his nature; and not because he celebrated "the prairies, pastures, forests, vast cities, Kanada, the snows," but because he wrote of his own Manhattan and Long Island as no other poet has ever done; and not because he soared ecstatically to the heights where people become abstractions, but because in his early work the ecstasy that was real—whatever its source—cleared his eyes so that he could see the infinite wonder of little and homely things. "I know," he says in the magnificent fifth chant of the "Song of Myself," "that the hand of God is the promise of my own"; but then he adds, looking downward at the world he knows best:

And limitless are leaves stiff or drooping
in the fields,
And brown ants in the little wells beneath them,
And mossy scabs of the worm fence,
heap'd stones, elder, mullein and
poke-weed.

MALCOLM COWLEY

*This is the second of two articles on Walt Whitman as philosopher and poet.*
—THE EDITORS

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## *Fiction Parade*

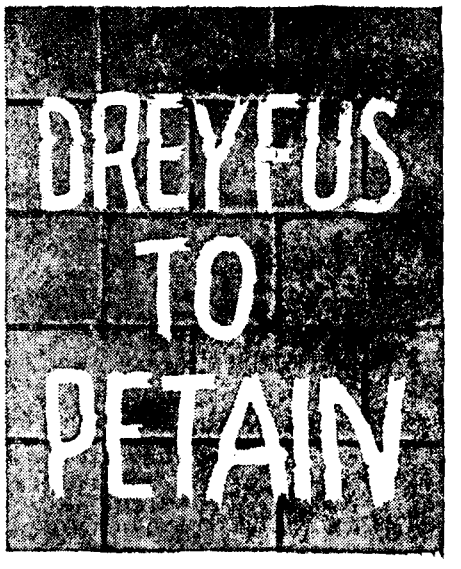
WHEN THE MOUNTAIN FELL, by C. F. Ramuz (Pantheon Books; $2.50).
ZOTZ!, by Walter Karig (Rinehart and Company; $2.75).

HERE are two short novels which have in common only the indication they provide that the Book-of-the-Month Club, whose dual selections for October they are, believes firmly in variety. *When the Mountain Fell* is the grim and simple story of a cataclysm of nature in the High Alps, and the heroic refusal of a young peasant to let its overwhelming power break him. *Zotz!* is a farcical account of the misadventures of a language teacher, amid the wartime Washington bureaucracy, who finds a personal, secret weapon hidden in the lore of a forgotten Phoenician religion. The one is in the mood of simple heroism; the other is straight satirical farce. But there is a difference between them greater than that of mood or subject matter, namely, that the former is, in its quiet way, something of a minor masterpiece, while the latter, for all its good-natured raillery, is almost ostentatiously commonplace.

*When the Mountain Fell* is the work of Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz, a Swiss author who died early this year and whose work has caused little comment here. It is a novel which has the rather strange effect of calling to mind both Knut Hamsun's *Growth of the Soil* and John Hersey's *Hiroshima.* It has not, I believe, the force of either of them, but it has a great deal of their power to proclaim proudly the indestructibility of man; and his most redeeming quality, the capacity to adjust himself to the most terrible hardships to which nature or his fellow man can subject him. It recalls Hamsun's work in its ability to make the everyday existence of peasant life take on an almost epic quality. And it is similar to Hersey's magnificent reporting in its picture of mankind's prodigious will to survive death and destruction on the most gigantic scale.

CHIEFLY, it is the story of Antoine Point, a young man from an Alpine village who, according to the custom, had gone up to the mountainside pasture of Derborance, where each June he and his companions took their cattle to graze. Then, on the night of June 15, the Devil's Peak tumbled on Derborance, bringing an avalanche of 150 million cubic feet of rock crashing through the thin roofs of the summer village to engulf Antoine and the men who were with him. Six weeks later the doctor, the coroner, the mourners and the curious from the nearby villages, and finally the federal engineers, visited the huge, new mass of rocks which was the monument of the disaster, and reported that "they found nothing. Nothing anywhere, not a single person, living or dead. Cabins, animals and men had disappeared under the stones." But Antoine was not dead. A slab of rock above his head had saved him, and for seven weeks underground, existing on a little bread and cheese and an occasional drop of water, he had refused to accept death but slowly had dug his way out, crawling on his stomach, through the crevices in the fallen mountain, until one day, more ghost than man, he had at last come out into the blinding sunlight. "The mountain fell on top of me, you see?" he cried exultantly. "But I got out from under it." And he found himself laughing uproariously.

IF Antoine is the central figure and his adventure the great incident of the story, it is not to the neglect of the other phases of Ramuz's short epic. Although portrayed in but a few strokes, the other villagers achieve a kind of rugged strength which, if not put to the test as was Antoine's, is somehow entirely credible. With an equal appearance of easy simplicity, the author makes Antoine's young wife so real and her devotion so calmly impressive that he can say of her "but she was not alone—for there was love" and make it seem not embarrassing sentimentality, but an honest, direct statement of fact. That is the chief virtue of this brief novel, which is not much longer than an extended short story. Its quiet heroism does somehow achieve a kind of nobility which makes it an unpretentious story.




Although half a century has passed, the Dreyfus Affair still remains the most mysterious, the *fishiest* of all *causes celebres.* And here is the eternal plot: on one side the Big Brass, the ousted aristocracy and the subversive elements of the Church; on the other the intellectuals, the progressives and the people; in the middle, a defenseless dupe who conveniently happened to be Jewish.

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of human endurance. It is not a work of remarkable stature; it is not deeply stirring or extraordinarily dramatic. Despite the wild outburst of nature it describes, it is always quiet and in a minor key. It is, in truth, as modest a work of art as its central figure is a modest hero. Particularly in a day of cynicism and disillusionment, it is a welcome tribute to qualities of endurance and strength of spirit that despairing mankind so quickly forgets it possesses.

WALTER KARIG'S *Zotz!* is decidedly something else. It is a pleasant enough little story to read and it has some amusing incidents, but, even though its possibilities are perhaps not so great as its author suspected, it has the unhappy air of not being as funny, imaginative or philosophically played as it might have been. Karig, who was a Navy public-relations officer in Washington during the war and is editor and co-author of the authorized narrative of its battle record, was chiefly aiming his satirical thrusts at that most vulnerable of targets: the high and medium brass at the Pentagon. In addition, no doubt, to paying off a few old scores in whimsical fashion, he was concerned with mocking the bureaucratic suspicion of new and original methods for achieving old ends. Nevertheless, in addition to being a writer with an amiable sense of humor, he is a man of a speculative turn of mind, and there are times when it appears that he is brooding over more serious matters. At least *Zotz!* occasionally tempts one to suspect that Karig is thinking not merely of the narrowness of military bureaucracy but perhaps of some broader subject, such as the dubious way in which mankind accepts other revolutionary ideas, like democracy and tolerance.

It is quickly apparent, however, that if Karig had any big game in mind, he didn't bother much about it, for his symbolism fails to live up to any optimistic expectations. Despite early moments when it seems that some real imagination is about to be brought to bear on the central idea of *Zotz!*, it is soon clear that whimsical farce is the main business of the narrative, and that the farce is but intermittently bright. All that is left is an amiable, harmless and undistinguished fable.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

## *Keynes Reëxamined*

THE NEW ECONOMICS: Keynes's Influence on Theory and Public Policy, edited by Seymour E. Harris (Alfred A. Knopf; $6).

THE KEYNESIAN REVOLUTION, by Lawrence R. Klein (The Macmillan Company; $3.50).

TOO many people think of Keynesian economics as being valid only in time of depression, which is understandable, for Keynes brought his new, and perhaps strange, ideas to fruition when bread lines and Hoovervilles were common features of the economic landscape. These doctrines also have meaning when the inability to buy bread is a result of high prices. The basic problems in both depression and prosperity are essentially alike: they are questions of mass purchasing power, business investments, production, community savings—factors which decide what our national income is to be.

The general reader will find in Professor Harris' symposium the best available guide to the Keynesian labyrinth. The discussions are concerned not only with such problems as industrial output and income, money and prices, international trade, expectations and interest theory, but also with the influence Keynes exerted upon economic practice. Written by dyed-in-the-wool Keynesians as well as by dissenters, the articles—particularly those by Paul Sweezy, Paul Samuelson and Ragnar Nurske—are gems of expository writing.

The Klein book, unfortunately, is not of the same caliber. He does succeed, however, in describing how Keynesian thinking developed since its beginnings in 1913. It may be difficult at first sight to observe any coherent strand in this development; but, as Dr. Klein shows, Keynes preferred economic truth to doctrinal consistency. If the theories of 1913 were inadequate for understanding what was happening in 1930, then

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Keynes did not hesitate to search for new solutions. This is a quality which few economists exhibit: to place truth above established habits of mind is a gift given to few men. Keynes was that kind of man.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

## *Crime and Punishment*

*So Evil My Love,* by Joseph Shearing (Harper; $2.50). Blackmail, practised by the mousy young widow of an English missionary on a wealthy school friend, ends in the fatal poisoning of the friend's husband. While the author's treatment of this famous British murder case of the 1800's is not up to the standard set in the superb and haunting *Airing in a Closed Carriage,* this is a skillful tale of malice and suspense.

*Murder Miscellany.—Madame Is Dead,* by Robert Terrall (Duell, Sloane and Pearce; $2.50), is a lively and rather bawdy account of how an AMG officer, arriving in a large and newly liberated French city, is confronted with—and solves—the murder of the proprietress of the best house in town. *Devil Take the Hindmost,* by Thomas Kinney (Crime Club; $2), is a fairly literate treatment of one of those family-inheritance feuds, while *A Man Died Here,* by Gina Dessart (Harper; $2.50), goes into the unsavory past of old Seton Williams, which amply supplies his family and neighbors with good and sufficient cause for his violent death. *The Dark Device,* by Hannah Lees (Harper; $2.50), leans heavily on psychoanalysis in its story of a sadistic and possessive father who nearly ends the promising career of his talented daughter. (Warning: Since punctuation has been almost omitted on this one, better allow an extra minute a page to reread sentences that a simple comma could have made clear.)

*Apology:* Vacation took me off before I could read and review *Mally Lee,* by Elisabeth Kyle (Crime Club; $2), a well written Scottish tale of an old tragedy that even after 40 years beset the young American girl who returns to her ancestral home. E.H.

# Bandwagon

*Solution*

W. H. Baughn, Portland agent for a scale manufacturer, explained the high price of meat has pushed the price figures off the end of most computing scales now in use. Mr. Baughn's firm is marketing a special device that figures prices up to $1.70 a pound.—*AP dispatch from Portland, Oregon.*

*Vital Statistics*

EUROPE'S POPULATION
TOO HIGH
Not Enough Food to Feed
People

—*Head and subhead in the Albany, Georgia,* Herald.

*Last Word on Housing*

"We feel agreement can be reached to reduce building costs," O'Neil [James F. O'Neil, National Commander of the American Legion] said. "We want to see action at the community and state levels."

O'Neil said the Legion will continue to push attempts to secure a national cemetery for each state.—*UP dispatch from Boston.*

*Seventh Son*

A Pennsylvania economist said today the country is in a period of "abnormal prosperity which may last two years or longer" but that "we are facing a severe depression that will be followed by an enduring prosperity lasting six years or longer."—*From the Chicago* Daily News.

*Rate of Exchange*

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—*Headline in the Chicago* Sun.

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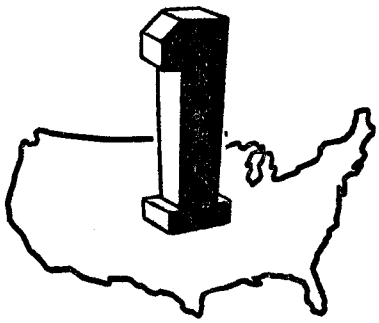

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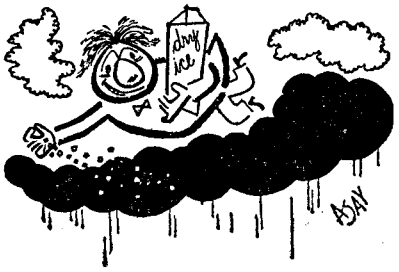
## Farm

### *The Rain Makers*




EARLY in the century, farm settlements in the Middle West, where I grew up, were visited periodically by rain makers with all kinds of paraphernalia, including foul gases, sky rockets and impressive instruments. Often they made a nice living, but after the wet year of 1908, dry periods became more frequent and there were more failures. Word got around that rain makers were quacks and people generally began to lose confidence in them. Homer Croy, in an excellent article (*Harper's*, September, 1946), reported that nobody believed in rain makers any more, but at the very time people were reading this, experiments were being carried out which, when publicized, caused the farmer and others to believe all over again that man could make rain.

I refer to the dry-ice experiments of Dr. Irving Langmuir, Nobel Prize-winner and chemical physicist of the General Electric Research Laboratory, which has a contract with the US Army Signal Corps and the US Army and Navy air forces to carry on his rain-making experiments. Dr. Langmuir, who worked with Dr. Vincent J. Schaefer, says that a single grain of dry ice about the size of a pea dropped through the air for 2,000 feet might produce enough ice nuclei to change several tons of super-cooled water droplets into snow. At a meeting of the American Meteorological Society in Boston, December, 1946, Langmuir said that snowfall may be artificially produced in the mountains of the Southwest and thus transform the deserts of Arizona, New Mexico, etc., into farming regions.

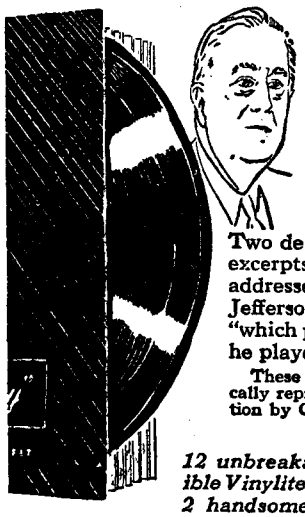
Another scientist interested in rain making as well as weather forecasting is Dr. V. K. Zworykin of the Radio Corporation of America's laboratories. Zworykin points out that it is now possible by means of electronic computing devices to obtain information that will enable scientists to predict weather changes. He also believes that such information together with rain-making techniques may eventually make possible the control of weather not only on a regional but on a global basis. The New York *Times* says Zworykin sees in this idea an eventual avenue to international coöperation and peace.

General George C. Kenney, Commander of the Strategic Air Force and also a rain-making enthusiast, takes the opposite view. He suggests ominously that rain can be kept from falling where it has been falling for ages and that "the nation . . . that learns to control the time and place of precipitation will dominate the globe."

IN discussing these experiments it is important to understand that rain cannot be dealt with on a local basis. Colonel Ben Holzman, US Air Forces, who predicted weather for the atom-bomb experiments and was decorated for his work in connection with the Normandy invasion, told me recently that the dry-ice scientists were confusing global and local forces. He said, "When conditions are just right, dry ice will precipitate a relatively small amount of rain or snow. But droughts, general rainstorms and hurricanes are caused by the movement of tremendous air masses set in motion thousands of miles from where the weather finally develops. I consider the dry-ice technique a cloud dissipater and not a rain-making device. . . . It is just as ridiculous to try to break a widespread drought with any of these things as it is to move a mountain with a toothpick."

It is significant that not a single outstanding meteorologist in the country endorses the boasts of the rain makers. Meteorologists do, however, believe that more research on cloud physics is needed, and recently the Air Forces and the US Weather Bureau decided to submit the quick-freeze method to scientific tests.

Unfortunately farmers have already

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been persuaded that the rain makers will make a drought a thing of the past. Hundreds of them are writing in for the government to do something about making it rain. One result may be that the taxpayers' money may be wasted in futile attempts to do away with droughts. Representative Sid Simpson (R, Ill.) says he will introduce a bill appropriating $500,000 for experiments in rain making. He hopes to get action in time for next year's drought, if there is one.

The cruel fact is that we are just as far away from breaking a widespread drought as we ever were. Showers may be caused by dry ice (they are often caused by convection due to forest fires), but weather in general can't be controlled or changed, now or in the foreseeable future.

For the present, I think Dr. Langmuir and Dr. Zworykin and the other rain makers ought to consult the barometer before they make it rain. Maybe they do. Maybe that's why they're so successful. ANGUS MCDONALD

# Radio

## *The Big Shows*

WHEN the networks try, they're still tops, and this fall they have been trying hard and often. On a recent Sunday, I tuned to eight shows, either seasonal debuts or brand-new, without exhausting the premières. The rest of the week was just as full, and it's good to note that the shows I have caught are on the beam. Three, of unusual stature, deserve steady listening, and two of them you can hear easily enough by turning to NBC, Sundays, for the full-hour "Ford Theater," 5-6 p.m.; and to CBS any weekday from 5 to 5:30 for "American School of the Air." The third, ABC's new version of "World Security Workshop," with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as moderator, may cause you more trouble. When you can hear it on your local station—if you can hear it at all—is a question we'll go into in a minute.

There were excellent reasons why I approached the "Ford Theater" première with trepidation. For one thing, too many reputations were at stake. Henry Ford II had been sold on using a full-hour dramatic production instead of, say, an audience-participation show. At the network, a new programming vice-president would take the heat because his predecessor had yanked the NBC orchestra to which this hour had been consecrated. On agency row, knives were out for Kenyon and Eckhardt, the outfit that had recently taken the Ford radio account from J. Walter Thompson. How could a show be good, with all those careers attached to it?

The agency made the decision, which is probably the chief reason "Ford


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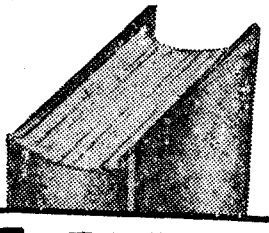

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Theater" started off as it did. It bought its talent in the radio market —rather than trying to lure glamor from stage and screen. It's a commentary on the infancy of radio criticism that names like the three who head the Ford show mean so little to the average radio listener. George Zachary is the director of this program; Howard Teichmann is script editor; and George Faulkner, continuity editor. You have probably never heard of Lillian Schoen, either; she wrote the Ford opener on NBC, though her regular job is as a staff writer for the ABC network. Among them, these people, plus a cast of actors also unknown outside the trade, put on an hour of real radio.

Miss Schoen was listed as adapter in the air credits. Billed as the writer was Mark Twain, who did do a story called *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. But Twain's Yankee was not an ex-Seabee who frightened Arthur's knights with the strange accents of "hay baba ree bop" or punched home the fact that, as a twentieth-century American who had learned something from World War II, he personified "the struggling forces of freedom and equality" against "the existing forces of tyranny and oppression." There are some schoolmarms who won't like this as literature; some NAM-ers who won't like it as politics. "Ford Theater" hoped not only that Twain would have approved—but that listeners would. I hope they did.

The same concern for Freedom—all four of the principal ones—motivated CBS' "American School of the Air" in its debut of "Liberty Road," the new Monday afternoon (5 o'clock) program this year. Too big a bite was taken on the opener—with a resulting loss of lucidity, but in basic content "Liberty Road" is sound.

Now, let's return to Mrs. Roosevelt. Assume for a moment that you live in Buffalo; that it's Sunday, at 12:30 p.m.; that you have read somewhere that Mrs. Roosevelt will conduct, on the ABC network, a revised version of "World Security Workshop" to which she will bring delegates from the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly. Would you be interested in listening to such a show if you lived in Buffalo? Or in Syracuse, or Rochester, or anywhere else in the western half of New York State or the northwestern portion of Pennsylvania? Chances are, you couldn't.

There are about three million people in that area—and perhaps two-thirds of them have access to radios. Yet whether they can hear a show of this type is entirely a matter of chance —and money. There is little doubt that WKBW, Buffalo, a 50,000-watt station, would carry the show if someone were willing to pay for it. The same is true of WSAY, Rochester, which, to be sure, is ostensibly a Mutual affiliate but carries ABC's Walter Winchell and the Henry Morgan show. WAGE, Syracuse, is the only one of the stations in the three cities that, to my knowledge, scheduled the "Security Workshop" at all—Syracuse listeners can get it at 7 p.m., Mondays. For the majority of listeners in a vast area, the program is blacked out behind what the Voice of Freedom Committee has called "the electronics curtain" of censorship by broadcasters.

NOTES FOR THE LOG. – Wednesday night: Bing Crosby, ABC, 10 p.m.; Henry Morgan, ABC, 10:30 p.m.; Jimmy Durante, NBC, 10:30 p.m. Thursday night: Al Jolson, NBC, 9 p.m. Jolson is back where he started in radio some 14 years ago, on Kraft Music Hall. Oscar Levant is with him now.

Sunday afternoon: CBS at 1:30 gives you "Doorway to Life," which used to be on Wednesday nights. This is an excellent series dramatizing problems in child psychology. Robert Q. (for nothing) Lewis is now peddling his zany antics on CBS, Sundays at 2.

Sunday night: Get on NBC at 7 p.m. for two hours of comedy. You have in succession Jack Benny (if you can stand the "Rochester" characterization); Phil Harris and Alice Faye, who are much better than they were a year ago; the Edgar Bergen-Charlie McCarthy show; and Fred Allen, still the man the other comics have to beat.

SAUL CARSON

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# Music

## *Uptown, Downtown*

THERE'S an elaborate bit of basement in New York's Greenwich Village known as Café Society Downtown, where for nine years patrons have been passing judgment on the talent of rookie artists scouted and spotlighted by owner Barney Josephson. Actually, the downtown spot is a sort of farm club, and if Josephson feels that he's discovered some big-league material, he usually sends the find to the silk-stocking district for an engagement at his Café Society Uptown. Lena Horne, Billie Holiday, Zero Mostel, Kenneth Spencer and Susan Reed are evidence of Josephson's sensitivity to showmanship.

Currently being groomed downtown is a large (but not fat) woman named Nellie Lutcher, who sparks an otherwise mediocre floor show with her singing and piano playing. Neither is exceptional in itself, but they're pulled together by Miss Lutcher's mildly boisterous personality. Although she'll occasionally give a warm and unmawkish treatment to a ballad, she's at her best when pounding her way through a jive tune like that rowdy piece of nonsense, "Hurry On Down to My House."

If you don't live near enough Café Society to see for yourself, Capitol has her on records. "Hurry On Down" is teamed with "The Lady's in Love with You." Others are "He's a Real Gone Guy" and "Let Me Love You Tonight"; "My Mother's Eyes" and "You Better Watch Yourself, Bub."

THE only trouble with the revival of "Heartaches" last winter was the fact that it was played so much that it began to incite to lighting fires under juke boxes. It looks as if the same thing is going to happen to a song called "Near You," recently recorded on the Bullet label by Francis Craig, and presently being cut by more artists than I care to mention. Before I become thoroughly nauseated with it, I'd like to go on record as saying that Craig does a very pleasant job. His piano embellishes a harmless melody, and I've contributed my share of nickels to his performance.

Frank Sinatra has just recorded "A Fellow Needs a Girl" and "So Far" (Columbia), two of the tunes from "Allegro," the new Rodgers-Hammerstein musical. "So Far" is very hummable and Sinatra does it justice. However, try as he might, he can't accomplish much with "A Fellow Needs a Girl." I keep thinking that it should be played in march tempo and sung by Nelson Eddy as he slaps his companions on the back.

PEOPLE who burst into tears at the mention of F. Scott Fitzgerald, the Charleston or the 1926 St. Louis Cardinals are going to wallow in nostalgia when they hear Columbia's latest Hot Jazz Classics album, entitled "Bix and Tram" (Columbia C-144). The star of the eight reissued sides is the late Bix Beiderbecke, whose articulate cornet has never been equaled. Bix always played with tremendous assurance, and the intelligence with which he thought out his choruses resulted in music that was sharp and, though he played close to the melody, deeply imaginative. With Bix are Frank Trumbauer ("Tram") and other jazz figures of the twenties. CHARLES MILLER

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# Theater

## *In Praise of Impudence*

THERE is a flooding vitality in Shaw's "Man and Superman," which opened on October 8, that makes even the most robust of today's playwrights look as though they were suffering from anemia. Every character has an opinion—or five—on everything; every idea is proved, upheld, denounced, destroyed; every scene is twisted a half-dozen different ways in a disdainful fury of good humor. Using a claptrap and preposterous plot that would make a producer at Republic Pictures wince, giving us platform lecturers cunningly got up as characters in a play, sternly forbidding the audience to allow its emotions to be engaged for a single moment, lightly making certain that his work bears no relation to any life that anyone has ever witnessed, as glitteringly artificial as a rhinestone tiara and nine times as bright, Shaw sweeps, in a swift three-hour encircling movement, around most of the political, social and biological ideas of the early twentieth century, and triumphantly delivers them to headquarters, slightly battered and with none of the honors of war.

The theater must admit its debt to Maurice Evans for this production. There are only two failures in the work, and both are only partial. The settings, which compromise gingerly with the stylization they attempt, are without distinction, and, in the last act —laid in Spain—strike a jarring note of sentimentality. The other failure, and that is far too strong a word for it, is in the performance of the leading actor, himself.

It is ungallant to complain, even softly, about the work of an actor who has done so much with the part of Jack Tanner, but it is precisely because Evans goes so far with the role that we notice there is a final height he does not reach. Perhaps there is no other actor on the stage who could read the complex, involuted, staggeringly lengthy speeches with as much clarity and wit—but there is a small, disturbing sense that the crisp phrasing, the darting, intelligent emphasis, are coming somehow from a clever and impeccable machine which Evans keeps concealed in his larynx. It is like one of those exquisite phonographs which turns records by itself and sonorously floods the largest drawing room. It is accurate, it is luxurious and pleasing, but here and there we are forced to remember the well oiled, ingenious gears meshing within the cabinet.

THERE are one or two mannerisms of Evans that add to the impression that his performance is a triumph of engineering rather that the work of flesh and blood. He has a habit of nervously blinking his eyes far more than normal, which has the effect of punctuating his speeches in surprising places; and, if there were any way of measuring such things, I think it would be discovered that Evans opens his mouth wider, by at least a quarter of an inch, than any other actor on the American stage. It is a disquieting trick and makes one wonder if Evans intends in another moment to step to the center of the stage and go into an aria.

The injustice of Nature, which has presented this versatile and heroic actor with the face and figure of a mild, pleasant headmaster at a fashionable boys' school, must also be mentioned. It is hard to know what to prescribe for this, hard to know what diet, what tragedy, what wars, what wounds he should seek to change himself from the present agreeable and everyday figure to the deep-eyed, passion-ridden giant his theatrical stature demands him to be.

As a director, Maurice Evans has been happy. In his casting, the most important task of a producer and director, he has had gambler's luck. Frances Rowe, late of England, playing the beautiful, devious, irresistible, amorally pursuing female of the play, is just as dangerous and calmly certain of her powers as the author must have wanted her to be. As soon as she comes on the stage, we know Fate has made an entrance. Older than Jack Tanner by a thousand years, she smiles sleepily, permitting herself to be gently amused by his wild speeches, his furious iconoclasms, his demented efforts to escape in a Niagara of epigrams and quotations. She cannot be insulted, she cannot be exposed; she knows the marriage bed awaits to bring an end to all his poor, brilliant posturing.

Carmen Mathews, as Violet Robinson, a pretty girl with a sound love of the dollar, gives a minted performance, shiny, hard as metal. There is a delicious, cold mixture of young-girl frillery with the eternal knifelike prosaicness of the lady cashier in a French bistro. I think that in this performance, Miss Mathews' career should take an enormous forward leap.

Evans has directed these and the other well chosen players in a bright, swift-moving performance, in which no point is lost. Occasionally, here and there, he has permitted scenes to be played a trifle too broadly. But these moments are few, and the play quickly is put back onto higher ground.

The costumes, by David Ffolkes, deserve to be singled out. They are beautiful and funny at the same time, just right for a play like this, written long ago in the sunny time when everybody could laugh because there was a solution for everything just around the next library table.

ANOTHER import from England, "Duet for Two Hands," which opened the night before "Man and Superman," almost made me forget entirely America's literary debt to the old country. It ran for a year or two in London, and upon seeing it, one wondered hopelessly if there was any possibility of the nations of the world agreeing on anything. It is the story of a poet who had a murderer's hands grafted onto his wrists, and everything about the production—acting, scenery, lighting—steadfastly lived up to the style and content of the writing. Put it down as a hangover from the Tory days.

IRWIN SHAW

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# Movies

## *Fun and Fancy*

WALT DISNEY'S new film, "Fun and Fancy Free," is no frolic, as the newspapers have it, but is a tottering step in the old, right direction. Hearing he was back in the groove, one might reasonably have expected the gay enchantment of animals in the forest, the puzzled pig in the orchestra, the stricken chicken soprano, and all the legends he made ours again when Mickey Mouse and the world were younger. Well, maybe next time.

In "Fun and Fancy Free" only the opening sequences and the growing of the magic beanstalk in Jack's saga are the stuff of Disney's better movies. Mostly, the film is about Bongo, a teddy-bear who goes adventuring into the forest on his unicycle, and I suppose the very young will like it. I say it's a phony, and that the poor kids are going to get strange, dull ideas from it. There is a note of nervous hysteria rather than excitement about the whole picture.

THE movie made from Charlotte Armstrong's *The Unsuspected* has a central character modeled obviously on Alexander Woollcott. Claude Rains plays the role and is convincing to a point. When he is most unbelievable it happens that he is dealing with his niece, a startlingly naïve character played by Joan Caulfield and depicted as a rich, blond waif who will believe almost anything. She is a natural to fool, but unaccountably, since everyone in the long cast has been imposing on her for years, she refuses to believe a very attractive young man who claims to have married her. All this must sound very confusing: it is brought about by that bump on the head which, on the screen, invariably causes amnesia.

*Walt Disney Productions*

Constance Bennett gives the performance in "The Unsuspected." She plays a secretary who is beautiful and wise and bright and kind. According to the releases, she "must be co-starred in no less than fifth position on screen and in all paid advertising"—which is nonsense, for she makes the other ladies look like amateurs. I was curious to see the selfish, mean Althea of the book since, among other unusual qualifications, she was described as having silver eyes. Althea turns out to be Audrey Totter, who is mean, all right, and better than she was in "Lady in the Lake."

MY FATHER'S HOUSE," filmed in the settlements, the fields, the narrow streets of the romantic cities; along the banks of the Jordan and in the desert, has the most imposing, superb photography seen recently. It was adapted by Meyer Levin from his book of the same title as a non-political attempt "to show the world what Palestine is like." The story in script, as it becomes in retrospect, must have been a stirring work. It is so badly directed (by Herbert Kline, a famous photographer of documentaries) and acted in such a stilted style that its intrinsic worth and great latent power are largely lost. Levin and Kline are both artists and encountered many difficulties in making the film. It is a pity that the result fell so far short of the intention.

SHIRLEY O'HARA

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